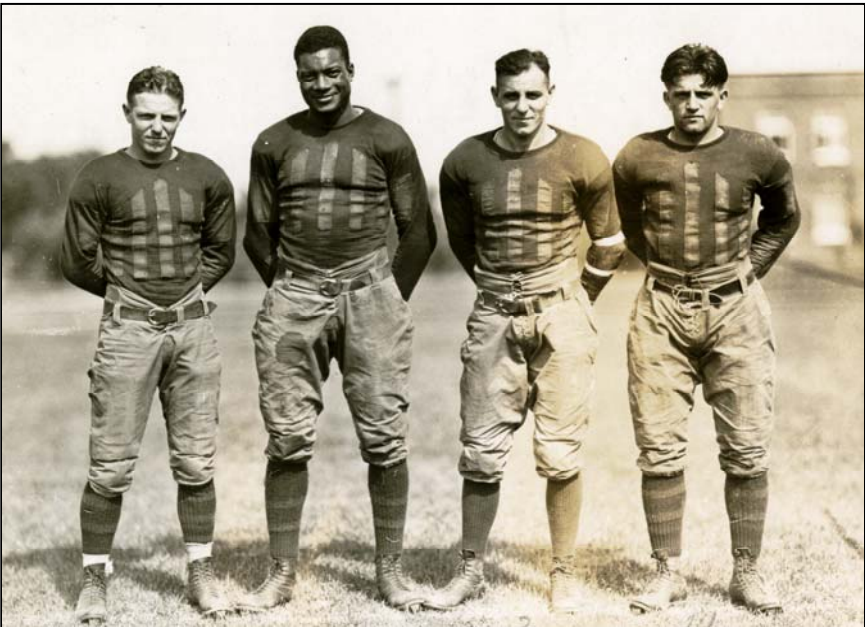


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In This Issue

DOROTHY SCHWIEDER, University Professor Emeriti of History at Iowa State University, recounts the life of Jack Trice up until he died in 1923 as a result of an injury he suffered during his second game as the only African American member of the Iowa State College football team. Then she relates the long struggle to rename Iowa State's football stadium in his honor. In both cases she sets the story in the context of changing racial and social attitudes.

JENNY BARKER DEVINE, assistant professor of history at Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois, interprets the programming of Farm Bureau women's clubs from 1945 to 1970. After nearly three decades of strong state-centered programming, club activities in the postwar period, she concludes, were characterized by a greater focus on local leadership. State leaders continued to advise local clubwomen to engage in activities related to politics, agricultural policy, and the like, but members of township clubs became increasingly selective in responding to state leaders' advice, focusing more narrowly on their neighborhoods, social events, and new trends in homemaking. Devine interprets this response not as an indicator of resistance or rejection of state leaders but rather as the manifestation of "social feminisms" in the countryside.

Front Cover

Jack Trice (second from left) poses in uniform with three white teammates from the 1923 Iowa State College football team. For the story of Trice's life and his legacy at Iowa State, see Dorothy Schwieder's article in this issue. Photo from University Archives, Iowa State University Library, Ames, Iowa.

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The Life and Legacy of Jack Trice

DOROTHY SCHWIEDER

SPORTS enjoy an almost hallowed place in society. Americans celebrate great athletes and athletic achievements, and their legacies live on in institutional records as well as in our national consciousness and popular imagination. At Iowa State College in the 1920s, a young African American man left a different kind of legacy. As a 21-year-old football player in 1923, Jack Trice died of injuries suffered in a football game. Honored at the time of his death, Trice and his story then slipped from public view. It was rediscovered in 1973, however, and for the next 24 years Iowa State students, faculty, and other Iowans waged a sometimes sporadic but determined campaign to recognize Trice by naming Iowa State University's football stadium in his honor.

In August 1997 their efforts were rewarded. In a brief ceremony before the school's season-opening football game, Iowa State President Martin C. Jischke formally declared that Iowa State's stadium would be renamed Jack Trice Stadium. President Jischke noted, "It is clear that Jack Trice, for a large majority of students and others associated with Iowa State University, exemplifies a number of heroic qualities, including determination, courage, enthusiasm, and giving one's all to an important cause. He has become a hero, not so much for what he accomplished,

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THE ANNALS OF IOWA 69 (Fall 2010). © The State Historical Society of Iowa, 2010.

because his life was cut short, but for what he represented."¹ With that dedication, Iowa State University became the only Division 1-A school in the nation to name its stadium after an African American athlete.

Jack Trice's experience at Iowa State College and the struggle to rename the stadium in his honor played out against a backdrop of a changing American racial environment, changing social attitudes, and even a highly unpopular war. It is an interesting and significant story, one that ultimately involved a legacy greater than those confined to the gridiron.

THE YOUNG MAN who died two days after playing his second varsity football game was born in 1902, the only child of Green and Anna Trice. His parents named him John G. Trice, but apparently his nickname, Jack, was commonly used. His four grandparents had been slaves. Jack's parents had settled in or near Hiram, Ohio, in extreme northeastern Ohio, sometime in the late nineteenth century. Green Trice first worked as a farmhand and eventually accumulated enough money to buy a small farm. Dr. Gaylord Bates, a boyhood friend of Jack's, wrote in 1956 that although the Trice family was one of the few African American families in Hiram, Jack experienced little or no racial prejudice there. "He was as full of fun and practical jokes as anyone else. He could not be accused of any more devilry, and certainly no less, than the rest of us engaged in." Bates added that Jack participated in Sunday School and Boy Scouts and that Jack "was always a part of our school parties in various homes, with never a thought of any difference of color of skin."²

1. President Martin C. Jischke, Jack Trice Stadium Dedication Program, Ames, Iowa, 8/30/1997, courtesy of ISU Athletic Office, Iowa State University.

2. Steven L. Jones, *Football's Hero* (Logan, IA, 2000), 7; Dr. Gaylord Bates to the Hiram Township (Ohio) Historical Society, 10/16/1956, Hiram Township (Ohio) Historical Society Records, in Jack Trice Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library (hereafter cited as Trice Papers). See also Jessica Lynn Schultz, "Moments of Impact: Race, Injury, and Football History in Iowa's Collective Memory" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2005). Schultz places the Trice story (and that of two other black Iowa athletes, Ozzie Simmons and Johnny Bright) in the context of memories at the time of the athletes' injuries and memories some decades later. Also see Schultz, "'Stuff from Which Legends Are Made': Jack Trice Stadium and the Politics of Memory,"

If Bates's depiction of Hiram as insulated from racial prejudice is accurate, the town was a highly unusual midwestern community. In his study of African Americans in Ohio between 1915 and 1930, William W. Giffin makes clear that a solid color line existed throughout the state. He explains that the color line encircled "all African Americans as one group, and all African Americans experienced manifestations of color prejudice," adding that the color line was strongest in southern Ohio but "lessened" as one moved north. World War I had brought many black migrants to Ohio. As a result, "racial segregation and racial discrimination intensified in Ohio during and after the war." Although African American newcomers experienced discrimination in many areas, it was "noticeably greater in housing, schools, public accommodations, law enforcement and press coverage."³

The Trice family's experience needs to be seen in the context of Ohio's race relations in general, but the family's specific location is also significant. The Trices had settled in Hiram, a small town some 20 miles southeast of Cleveland. Giffin singles out Cleveland — located in northeastern Ohio, where the color line was less rigid — as an urban center that manifested less discrimination than other large urban areas in Ohio. He notes that city officials there made a greater effort to confront racial discrimination. Cleveland's schools, moreover, were "probably" more integrated than those of any other urban area in the state.⁴ Because Hiram was located close to Cleveland (Trice would later attend school there) and because his home town was located in the part of Ohio least affected by the color line, Jack Trice probably benefited from his parents' decision to locate there, regardless of disagreements about the degree of racial discrimination Jack might have experienced.

After Jack completed the eighth grade in Hiram, his mother, Anna (by that time his father was deceased), sent him to live

International Journal of the History of Sport 24 (2007), 715–48; and idem, "The Legend of Jack Trice and the Campaign for Jack Trice Stadium, 1973–1984," *Journal of Social History* 41 (2008), 997–1029.

3. William W. Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915–1930* (Columbus, OH, 2005), 9, 14, 19, 32, 33, 37–47, 218.

4. *Ibid.*, 218.

with relatives in Cleveland. According to Bates, Jack's mother believed that her son had been too sheltered and needed to be "among people of his kind to meet the problems that a Negro boy would have to face." In Cleveland, Jack attended East Technical High School. The racial composition of the school is not known, but one piece of evidence has survived: a photo of Jack's high school team in which Jack Trice is one of two black players.⁵

Once enrolled at East Tech, Jack excelled in his studies and on the football field. Academically, Jack was described as having "a very high scholastic standing." On the field, his high school team was depicted as a "powerhouse," and Jack was described as having a "brilliant record." In an interview for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in 1979, Jack's former teammate Johnny Behm recalled that "no better tackle ever played high school ball in Cleveland. He had speed, strength and smartness." Behm added that he and Jack shared a room on football trips, one to Seattle for a game billed as the national high school championship. On the train, Behm "knew exactly whom to sit with," because "the waiters, who were black, always gave [Jack] double portions, and they'd give me extras, too." During the summers, Jack "worked on the roads" outside of Hiram. After graduation, he went to work for a construction company.⁶

In 1922 Iowa State College offered Jack's high school coach in Cleveland, Sam Willaman, the job of head football coach. Willaman invited six of his former players — including Jack and two brothers, Johnny and Norty Behm — to come to Ames with him and play for Iowa State. When Willaman and his players arrived in Ames, only a small number of African Americans played collegiate football anywhere in the nation.

The sport had originated in the northeastern United States, with the first game being played between Princeton and Rutgers in 1869, and then spread quickly into the Midwest. The first official college game in the Midwest is believed to have been

5. Bates to Hiram Historical Society, 10/16/1956; Jones, *Football's Hero*, 12.

6. *Ames Tribune*, 10/9/1923; Bates to Hiram Historical Society, 10/16/1956; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6/3/1979, in Trice Papers (this account does not mention a color line existing on the train); *Des Moines Register*, 6/20/1979, *ibid.*; Maury White, "The Legend of Jack Trice," *The Iowan* 46 (Fall 1997), 48–52.

played in 1879 between the University of Michigan and Racine College of Wisconsin. Other midwestern schools soon organized football teams, including the University of Minnesota in 1882, Indiana University in 1887, and the University of Illinois in 1890. By the turn of the century, every major midwestern college sponsored a football team.⁷

Iowa State College (ISC) fielded its first football team in 1892, but the sport did not have an auspicious beginning: when the first team took the field, few students or faculty “knew of or understood enough of the game to watch or play it with enthusiasm.” Three years later, ISC hired Glenn “Pop” Warner, a former star football player at Cornell University, as football coach, and the program began to attract some attention. In the fall of 1895, the ISC squad traveled to Northwestern University for that school’s season opener. With Northwestern the big favorite to win, Iowa State scored a major upset, winning the game by a score of 36–0. Not only did ISC win the game, but the school also acquired its nickname, the Cyclones. The *Chicago Tribune*, reporting on the game, carried the headline: “Struck by a Cyclone.” From then on, the ISC team was known as the Cyclones.⁸

In its early years, football was “a violent endeavor.” “The equipment was still cloth padding, leather helmets did little to protect against head injuries and strategy formations invited mayhem.” By 1905, college football had become so “ferocious” that 18 players were killed in games and 159 players suffered serious injuries. For African American players, the game was especially dangerous. As Jessica Schultz has pointed out, black players were often targeted by opponents for “especially vicious hits”; sometimes the black players’ own teammates would not provide “adequate blocking or interference,” resulting in injury. According to James Watterson, “African Americans who played for predominantly white institutions faced extraordinary hazards and abuse.” Watterson adds that both on and off the field, black

7. Charles H. Martin, “The Color Line in Midwestern College Sports, 1890–1960,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 118 (2002), 86–87.

8. Tom Kroeschell, “Athletics at Iowa State University,” in *Sesquicentennial History of Iowa State University: Tradition and Transformation*, ed. Dorothy Schwieder and Gretchen Van Houten (Ames, 2007), 179–80.

athletes led “a marginal existence, suffering from racial slurs, brutality and segregation.”⁹

Black athletes faced other barriers as well. The so-called color line, the “practice of either excluding African Americans from selected public activities or segregating them into separate programs or facilities” still existed in most northern institutions of higher learning in 1900. As Charles Martin has pointed out, the very existence of a color line probably discouraged many black athletes from even considering playing college ball. But becoming a member of a collegiate team did not guarantee that the athlete would compete in conference games. The existence of an unwritten rule, a “gentlemen’s agreement,” meant that northern teams were expected to bench their black players when playing southern teams. According to Jessica Schultz, that rule “was widely accepted by northern teams in the early 1920s.” In fact, college teams usually had no more than one or two black players on a team, and most had no black players at all.¹⁰

By 1922, at least seven African Americans, including Robert “Bobby” Marshall, who played for the University of Minnesota between 1902 and 1906, had already played football at other mid-western schools. Marshall, whom Arthur Ashe described as being “stellar” on the field, was named a Second Team All-American on two occasions. George A. Flippin was an even earlier pioneer black player when he joined the University of Nebraska team in

9. Arthur R. Ashe Jr., *A Hard Road to Glory: A History of the African-American Athlete, 1619–1918* (New York, 1988), 92; John Sayle Watterson, *College Football* (Baltimore, 2000), 65–70, 309; Schultz, “Moments of Impact,” 49. In addition to the works by Ashe, Schultz, and Watterson, numerous other studies cover the topic of African Americans in mostly white colleges and universities. The most helpful is Martin, “The Color Line.” David K. Wiggins has edited several anthologies on important black athletes and their experiences. See his *Out of the Shadows: A Biographical History of African American Athletes* (Fayetteville, AR, 2006); and *The Uneven Playing Field: A Documentary History of the African American Experience in Sport*, ed. David K. Wiggins and Patrick B. Miller (Urbana and Chicago, 2003). Wiggins’s article, “Prized Performers, but Frequently Overlooked Students: The Involvement of Black Athletes in Intercollegiate Sports on Predominantly White University Campuses, 1890–1972,” *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 62 (1991), 164–77, provides an excellent overview of the attitudes of black athletes regarding athletics and academics. Older studies such as Edwin B. Henderson and the Editors of *Sport Magazine*, *The Black Athlete: Emergence and Arrival* (New York, 1968), do not cover football during the 1920s.

10. Martin, “The Color Line,” 86, 87, 95; Schultz, “Moments of Impact,” 49.

1891. Flippin, like other pioneer black football players, "encountered racial hostility from the stands and extra violence on the field." In 1892 Nebraska was scheduled to play at the University of Missouri. When Missouri officials realized that Nebraska's team included "star halfback" Flippin, they demanded that Flippin be left at home. When Nebraska refused, Missouri forfeited the game. Conference officials then adopted a new rule, imposing a \$50 fine on teams forfeiting a match. In 1893 and 1894, Missouri "reluctantly" played Nebraska but at a neutral site in Kansas City.¹¹

The University of Iowa also played Missouri several times in the years before 1920. In 1895, when the African American Frank "Kinney" Holbrook played for Iowa, the game between the two schools was played "without protest," with Missouri the victor. The second game, however, was a totally different affair. Missouri officials objected strenuously to Holbrook's presence on the field, but Iowa officials stood their ground, insisting that he would play. The game, described as "a wild affair," "extremely rough," and resulting in many penalties, ended early. In the second half, the "disgusted" Missouri players walked off the field to protest an official's decision, but not before a Missouri player had "slugged" a referee, an Iowa faculty member.¹²

The two schools resumed their annual games in 1902, and for seven years they engaged in "relatively peaceful competition." But in 1909 the Iowa team included the African American player Archie A. Alexander. This time when Missouri officials demanded that Alexander be benched, Iowa officials agreed. The following year when the two teams played, Alexander was again kept out of the game at Missouri's insistence, but Iowa officials then canceled the Iowa-Missouri series. As Charles Martin points out, however, two changes had taken place since the early 1890s: by 1910, Missouri had "shifted" its policy from one of "hostile acceptance of limited interracial play" to one of

11. Ashe, *A Hard Road*, 93; Martin, "The Color Line," 88, 90. Although Missouri was (and is) a midwestern state, its attitudes and policies regarding African Americans, given its slaveholding status before and during the Civil War, were less flexible than those of other midwestern states in the early twentieth century.

12. Martin, "The Color Line," 92.

complete racial exclusion; at the same time, Iowa had abandoned its policy of "opposition to the color line" and had accepted "racial exclusion," both at home and away.¹³

In 1922 both major barriers to African Americans' participation in collegiate football remained in effect: the color line and the gentlemen's agreement. But the gentlemen's agreement caused little concern because midwestern teams had few black players, university administrators seemed indifferent to the issue, and there were few major interregional games. At the same time, by World War I, the intraregional resistance to African American players seemed "to have disappeared."¹⁴ In Trice's short career at ISC, however, it is unclear how opponents other than the University of Minnesota would have reacted to the presence of an African American on the Iowa State team.

WHEN JACK TRICE ARRIVED at Iowa State in the fall of 1922, he entered a world with few other African Americans. Just 20 or so black students were enrolled at ISC, a college of around 4,500 students. The city of Ames had 6,240 residents (not including ISC students), with a total of 34 African Americans. The entire state included just over 19,000 African Americans, less than one percent of the state's total population. Trice also entered a world where blacks faced many restrictions. For example, African American students at ISC were not allowed to live in a school dormitory. From the school's inception, ISC was open to all races, but housing was another matter. Although not formalized in writing, the school had an "unofficial policy that barred students of color from living with white students." As President Raymond Pearson wrote in 1910, "Negro students are entirely welcome at this institution; they have no discourtesy shown them by fellow students or others." On the other hand, he admitted, "It is not always easy for a Negro student to find rooming and boarding accommodations except where there are

13. *Ibid.*, 93–94.

14. *Ibid.*, 95. The University of Missouri belonged to the same league, the Missouri Valley Conference; ISC had joined that conference in 1908. See Kroeschell, "Athletics," 180.

enough to room and board together, as is the case with Filipinos and with students of other nationalities."¹⁵

For Trice, employment would solve his housing problem. Once on campus, he had two jobs: working in State Gym and doing janitorial work at a local business. In a letter to the *Ames Tribune* in 1976, Harley C. Boeke, a contemporary of Jack's, explained that Jack had been employed as a "custodian in one of the larger office buildings in downtown Ames." Boeke added that this job provided living quarters for Jack.¹⁶

Housing was not the only area of discrimination Jack Trice and other African Americans faced in Ames and other parts of the state. In the 1920s blacks and whites lived mostly separate lives. Legal barriers such as political disenfranchisement and exclusion of black children from public schools had been eliminated by 1900, but economic and social barriers remained. In a study of blacks in Iowa in 1918, four years before Jack Trice arrived in the state, Victor Cools noted the "strict separation" between the races on the "social level." "There is no instance on record in which the whites and blacks have come together for social purposes. It is true that . . . when some distinguished . . . person of color is brought by some organization to Des

15. Tim Griffin, "ISU Only I-A School to Honor African-American in Stadium Name," ESPN.com: Black History 2008, <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/print?id=3242390&type=story>; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920 Census for Iowa, Story County, Ames; Pamela Riney-Kehrberg, "Foundations of the People's College: The Early Years of Iowa State," in *Sesquicentennial History of ISU*, 17–18.

16. Harley C. Boeke, letter to the *Ames Tribune*, 6/24/1976, in Trice Papers. There are conflicting accounts of whether or not Anna Trice lived in Ames with her son, Jack. According to one source, she worked at a mill in Ohio to earn money for his college education. The housing situation had improved for other African American students by the 1920s. In 1919 an African American couple, Archie and Nancy Martin, moved from Georgia to Ames and constructed a home at 218 Lincoln Way (the house still stands) that they opened as a rooming house for black students. Although a welcome haven for African American students, the Martin home was located some three miles from campus. No doubt, their boarders rode the electric trolley, known as the Inter-urban, to campus. Apparently, the college's housing policy was not changed until after World War II. *Ames Tribune*, 9/25/2004; Riney-Kehrberg, "Foundations of the People's College," 18. In September 2004 ISU officials voted to name a new residence hall on campus the Archie and Nancy Martin Hall. A formal portrait of the Martins was unveiled at Martin Hall on September 16, 2008.

Moines for the purpose of raising money for some project or other, [such functions] are attended by white persons who sympathize with the Negro, yet the number . . . is in reality negligible." Cools then pointed out specific areas of discrimination against blacks, particularly in Des Moines: they were refused service in most restaurants, given "inferior seats" in theaters, and refused service in many hotels.¹⁷

Throughout the state in the 1920s, there were other reminders of the separation between blacks and whites, resting on the widespread view that blacks were inferior to whites and were, therefore, second-class citizens. In Des Moines and Waterloo, for example, housing covenants prevented blacks from living in certain parts of the cities. Sunset laws (which forbade African Americans to remain in communities after sundown) existed in at least a few Iowa communities. In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan operated throughout the state; although Klan activities in Iowa were directed primarily against Catholics and foreigners, for blacks the very existence of the Klan must have caused great fear.¹⁸

Blacks and whites were segregated in higher education, too. Hal Chase describes the years between 1868 and 1949 as a period when "tokenism" defined Iowans' attitudes toward African Americans in higher education. Chase writes that a "widely held stereotype" was that African Americans were "intellectually inferior." As a result, Iowa's colleges and universities admitted only a few African Americans to their institutions.

17. Quoted in Leola Nelson Bergmann, *The Negro In Iowa* (Iowa City, 1969), 63. For a full discussion of legal issues related to African Americans in Iowa, see Richard, Lord Acton and Patricia Nassif Acton, "A Legal History of African-Americans: From the Iowa Territory to the State Sesquicentennial, 1838-1996," in *Outside In: African-American History in Iowa, 1838-2000*, ed. Bill Silag et al. (Iowa City, 2001).

18. Bergmann, *The Negro in Iowa*, 48; James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York, 2005). Loewen does not list any specific Iowa towns as having sunset laws but does write that "confirmed sundown subregions" include "a thick band of sundown counties and towns on both sides of the Iowa-Missouri border" (77). My own research found that at least two Iowa communities, Pershing in the 1920s and Pleasant Hill in the 1960s, had billboards warning blacks to be out of town by sundown. Private conversations with Alex Erickson, Pershing, Iowa, August 1980, and George Anthan, Ames, Iowa, March 1986. Also see Dorothy Schwieder, "A Farmer and the Klan in Northwest Iowa," *Annals of Iowa* 61 (2002), 286-320.

Moreover, some Iowa institutions of higher learning admitted blacks more readily than others: Iowa State College admitted African Americans from its inception; Iowa Wesleyan College admitted its first black student in 1863 and Grinnell College in 1871. George Washington Carver attended Simpson College in 1890, enrolling as a "select preparatory student," and then entered ISC, where he received B.S. and M.S. degrees. Even with success stories such as Carver's, Chase concludes that "*de facto* segregation contaminated Iowa higher education until the end of World War 2."¹⁹

It is impossible to know Jack Trice's expectations when he arrived in central Iowa in 1922. Even if it is true, as some contemporaries suggest, that he had been well accepted by whites in his home town of Hiram and at East Tech High School in Cleveland, he lived in a larger world defined by the color line, one where African Americans were defined as second-class citizens. Given his successful high school football career, however, he must have arrived on campus in great anticipation of his college football career.

Based on limited evidence, it seems that Trice got along well with his teammates, staff, and other students at Iowa State; at the same time, he seemed to be always circumspect in his relations with whites. One teammate recalled many years later that Jack had been cautious about his interactions with other students, holding back in social situations until others initiated conversation. One former teammate put it this way: "Jack appreciated his status. Generally, he spoke only when spoken to. As far as I know he was always a gentleman, like almost all of the athletes and students were." Another former teammate recalled that Jack "didn't speak out much. He kept his place." Merl Ross, business manager for the ISC Athletic Department, also knew Jack personally and remembered that Jack had run errands for him. In 1989 he recalled, "Jack Trice was such a wonderful person. . . . He was an outstanding player and an outstanding gentleman. No one ever had any bad words to say about him. He was the best." Ross added that Jack was "courte-

19. Hal S. Chase, "'You Live What You Learn': The African-American Presence in Iowa Education, 1839-2000," in *Outside In*, 135, 140-41, 144.

ous. He'd never come in the office. He'd wait in the corridor unless you invited him. He was a shy fellow." Other former teammates stated that Jack was accepted by all players and seemed to fit in well with the team. Bob Fisher, another teammate of Jack's, recalled many years later that Jack had no racial problems at Iowa State. "As far as I know, he was just one of the fellows. There was no inkling of racism at school." Perhaps the teammate who knew Jack best, Johnny Behm, recalled, "Although Trice was the only black on the team, I never heard anyone make any racial remarks about him."²⁰ Although these comments by Trice's contemporaries reflect the prevailing racial attitudes of the day — such as "he knew his place" — they also reflect respect for Trice.

It is significant that Trice's contemporaries perceived that he experienced a comfortable, accepting environment in Ames; nonetheless, no firsthand accounts by Trice survive to substantiate this view. No doubt, he interacted with other black students at ISC and possibly knew some of the town's African Americans who were not students. The existence of other African Americans at ISC probably made his time there more comfortable, as they could provide friendship and advice. Athletics provided Jack a clearly defined niche within the school; he was not only an athlete but a very good athlete. Although we know little about Trice's private thoughts, once in Iowa and surrounded almost entirely by white students and a culture dominated by European Americans, he likely felt a deep loneliness and isolation from his own friends and family members back in Ohio.

At ISC, Jack "struggled with his admission tests" but eventually managed to pass them. He selected animal husbandry as his major and planned to move south after graduation to work with black sharecroppers. He did well in his classes although he had to make up some deficiencies. One source indicates that during his freshman year, Jack's grades averaged 90 percent. There were no college sports scholarships in the 1920s, so Jack worked during his freshman year, helping out in State Gym and doing janitorial work in a downtown office building. Coaches often helped players find part-time jobs, which probably ac-

20. Boeke letter; *Cleveland Plain Dealer* (undated clipping clearly written in 1997), in ISU Athletic Office; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6/3/1979, Trice Papers.



The 1922 Iowa State College freshman football team. Trice is third from left. All photos from University Archives, Iowa State University Library.

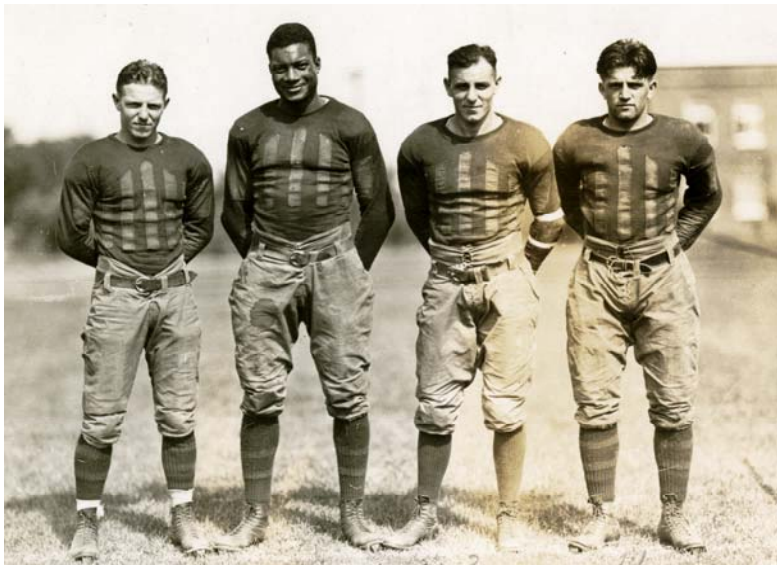
counted for Jack's employment. At least for a while, his mother took a mill job in Ravenna, near Hiram, so she could contribute financially to Jack's education.²¹

Jack returned to Ohio for the summer following his first year in Ames. He lived with his mother in Ravenna and worked for the Ohio State Highway Department. Before beginning his sophomore year, he married Cora Mae Starland. She returned to Ames with him and enrolled in home economics courses. Cora Mae also worked to support the family. Once more, however, housing was a problem. According to one account, when Jack and Cora Mae were unable to find living quarters in Ames, they turned to a local Masonic group, which arranged for them to board in a room at their local temple.²²

After playing on the freshman team during his first year at ISC (freshmen did not play varsity football), Jack joined the varsity team as a sophomore. The ISC student paper reported that he was one of the team's most outstanding performers. His contemporaries echoed that view. Former teammate Harry Schmidt believed that had Jack lived, "he would certainly have made all-conference his junior year, at least if not that sopho-

21. *The Alumnus*, Iowa State College, October 1923, Trice Papers; *Kansas City Star*, 8/29/2004, clipping in ISU Athletic Office; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6/3/1979, Trice Papers.

22. *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1975.



Four Iowa State College varsity football players, 1923. From left: Johnny Behm, Trice, Norty Behm, and W. Nave.

more year. He was very capable." Johnny Behm remembered that in practice, Trice, an offensive lineman, would go "one on one" with George Hauser, the team's line coach, and Jack "always held his own." Hauser was so good, Behm related, that the line coach would travel to Chicago each Sunday to play with George Halas's team, which eventually became the Chicago Bears. In another assessment of Trice's ability, Jessica Schultz, who studied the careers of Trice and other black Iowa athletes, reminds us that "only the best African-American football players were allowed on predominantly white teams in the first half of the twentieth century — their presence justified by the fact they not only improved their team's performance, but were believed to be capable of almost single-handedly securing victory."²³

23. Harry Schmidt, interview with Bill Walch, Ames, Iowa, 12/4/1973, Trice Papers; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6/3/1979, in Trice Papers; Schultz, "Moments of Impact," 49.

IOWA STATE'S FIRST OPPONENT for the 1923–24 season was Simpson College, a much smaller school than ISC and not regarded as a serious threat. The big game, however, the second one on ISC's 1923–24 schedule, was at the University of Minnesota and was considered the first major college game of the season for the Iowa State squad.²⁴

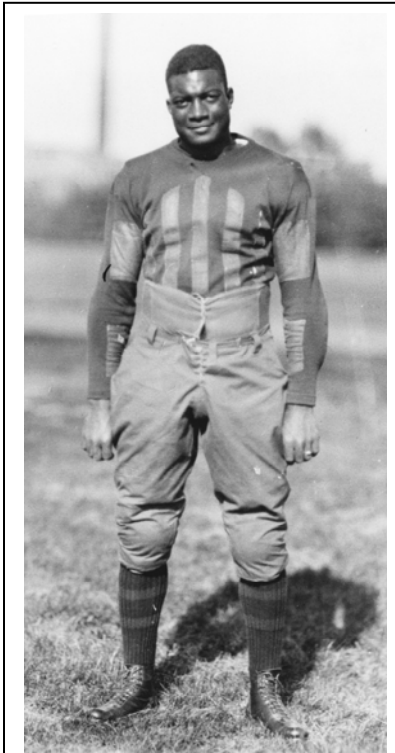
In Minneapolis the Iowa State team stayed at the Curtis Hotel. Apparently Jack stayed in the same hotel with his teammates, although there is some confusion about where he ate his meals.²⁵ The night before the game, Jack sat down to record his thoughts about the next day's big event. He would be the only black player on the field. He was a big man for the time, described as six feet tall and weighing about 200 pounds, and he had four years of high school football and one year of freshman football behind him. But Minnesota was known as a powerful football team, far more successful than Iowa State. Given his situation, Jack must have been apprehensive about the game. That night he wrote,

To whom it may concern: My thoughts just before the first real college game of my life. The honor of my race, family, & self are at stake. Everyone is expecting me to do big things. I will! My whole body & and soul are to be thrown recklessly about on the field tomorrow. Every time the ball is snapped I will be trying to do more than my part. On all defensive plays I must break thru the opponents line and stop the play in their territory. Beware of mass interference, fight low with your eyes open and toward the play. Roll block the interference. Watch out for crossbucks and reverse end runs. Be on your toes every minute if you expect to make good.²⁶

24. Dr. William Thompson, interview with Gary Stowe, Omaha, Nebraska, 7/29/1974, Trice Papers. Trice's teammates and others would later report that the Missouri Valley schools, including Nebraska, refused to play Iowa State that year because the ISC team had a black player. But since the Minnesota game was only the second one on the 1923–24 schedule — and the only other school played was Simpson College — those claims are incorrect.

25. The *Kansas City Star*, 8/29/2004, reported that the team stayed at the Curtis but that Jack could not eat his meals in the dining room. Clipping in ISC Athletic Office. Another source said the team stayed at the Radisson Hotel while Jack stayed at the Curtis. See *Jet Magazine*, 5/30/1988, in Trice Papers.

26. Trice's letter is in Trice Papers.



Jack Trice in his ISC football uniform, 1923.

During the hard-fought game, Jack suffered a shoulder injury in the first half but continued to play; it was later discovered that he had broken his collarbone. At half-time, the score was tied, 7-7. Teammates later indicated that midway through the third quarter, Jack implemented what was described as "a rolling block," throwing himself in front of an oncoming rush of Minnesota players running "a cross-buck with heavy interference." Jack ended up on his back, rather than on his stomach, which was the intended position. Apparently, the coach had discouraged this play because it was too dangerous, and in later years the play was outlawed. During the play, Jack was trampled by Minnesota players. He was helped

from the field as Minnesota fans chanted, "We're sorry Ames, we're sorry." Jack was immediately taken to a Minneapolis hospital, where doctors determined that he could make the trip back to Ames. Minnesota won the game, 20-17.²⁷

Arriving home on Sunday, Jack was admitted to the student hospital. College physicians believed that Jack was improving, but in late afternoon he began to experience "shallow and irregular" breathing. A Des Moines specialist, Dr. Oliver Fay, was

27. Dr. Thompson interview; *Iowa State Daily*, 11/8/1976, in Trice Papers. According to the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly*, 10/18/1923, in Trice Papers, when Trice was carried off the field, the crowd responded "with aroused tenderness." The weekly also stated that Minnesota school officials and "regular squad members" wrote letters of condolences to ISC and Trice's family and friends.

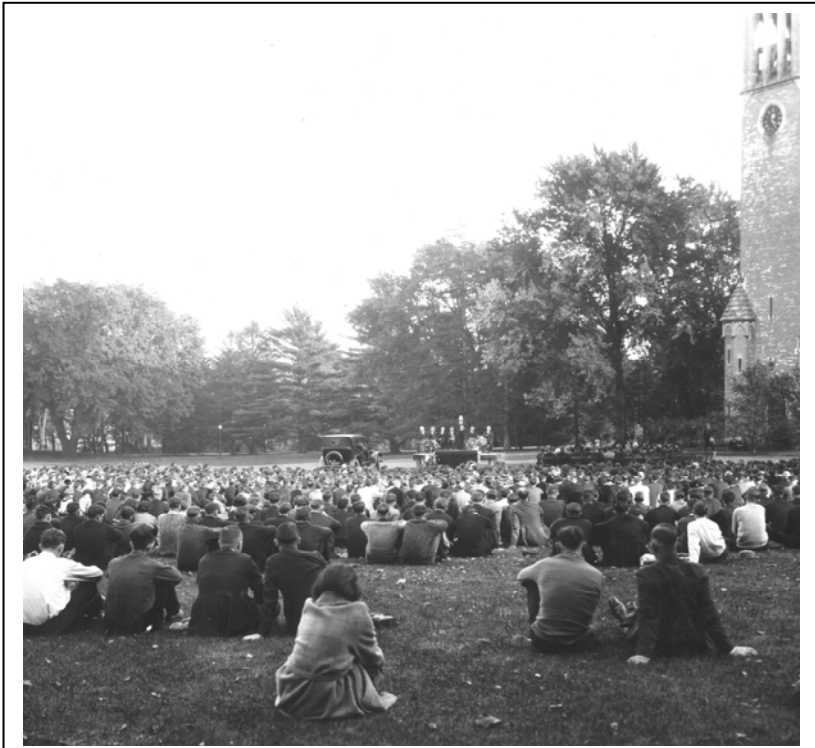
called to Ames. According to the *Ames Tribune*, Dr. Fay was one of the “best known specialists in stomach troubles in the country.” Dr. Fay’s diagnosis: an operation was too risky, given Jack’s condition. At 3 p.m. on Monday, October 8, Jack died. A letter dated October 16, 1923, addressed to Coach Willaman, listed the cause of Jack’s death: “Traumatic Peritonitis, following injury to abdomen in football game, October 6, 1923. (Autopsy [sic] showed severe contusion of intestines upper portion of abdomen. This caused stasis or paralysis of intestines followed by peritonitis.)” The letter was signed: “Dr. James F. Edwards, Professor [of] Hygiene.”²⁸

The following day, October 9, school officials suspended classes and several thousand students gathered on central campus to pay tribute to Jack Trice, the only ISC athlete ever to die of injuries suffered in a game. A gray casket, carried by teammates, was placed on a wooden platform. Among other speeches, college president Raymond Pearson read the letter that Jack had penned the night before the game, discovered in Jack’s coat pocket following his death. Jack’s teammates had set out five-gallon milk cans around campus and collected \$2,259 to help pay for funeral expenses, including the cost of shipping Jack’s body back to Ohio. The Ames Chamber of Commerce and ISC’s Cardinal Guild also helped raise funds for funeral expenses.²⁹ The money raised also helped Jack’s mother pay off a mortgage on her home, taken out to help pay for college expenses for Jack and Cora Mae.

Anna and Cora Mae Trice and Jack’s uncle, Lee Trice, accompanied the body back to Hiram along with freshman football coach William Thompson; Kenneth R. Marvin, assistant alumni secretary and member of the athletic department; and Harold I. Tutt, an African American student at ISC. The group was met in Hiram by Dr. W. H. Pew, formerly head of the animal husbandry division at ISC, then living in Ravenna (near Hiram). Dr. Pew notified Iowa State officials of the group’s arrival in Hiram, noting that “the mother and wife of the deceased

28. *Ames Tribune*, 10/8/1923; Dr. James F. Edwards, Professor Hygiene, to Mr. F. Williman [sic], 10/16/1923, Trice Papers.

29. *Ames Tribune*, 10/9/1923. \$2,259 in 1923 is equivalent to roughly \$28,000 in 2009. See Inflation Calculator at www.westegg.com/inflation.



Several thousand ISC students gathered on campus for Jack Trice's funeral.

athlete stood the trip well, but it has since been necessary to place the younger Mrs. Trice under the doctor's care." The *Daily* later reported that Jack's widow had suffered a "nervous collapse." In Hiram, Jack was buried beside his father.³⁰ Jack's mother later wrote to President Pearson about her feelings. She first thanked college officials for their kindnesses and then added, "If there is anything in the life of John Trice and his career that will be an inspiration to the colored students who come to Ames, he has not lived and died in vain. But Mr. President, while I am proud of his honors, he was all I had and I am old and alone. The future is dreary and lonesome."³¹

30. *Ames Tribune*, 10/11/1923; *Iowa State Daily*, 10/12/1923; Tom Emmerson Jr., "Jack Trice: Victor on the Fatal Field," *Iowa State Scientist* 11 (November 1957).

31. Anna Trice to President Raymond Pearson, 10/25/1923, Trice Papers.

Some two weeks after Trice's death, another tribute was paid to the late football star. The *Ames Tribune* reported that "the Negroes of Ames and the college" held a memorial service in the home of Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Gater. Harold L. Tutt, who had accompanied the body to Ohio, spoke about that experience. A quartet of African Americans presented several musical selections. Jack's letter, written on the eve of the Minnesota-Iowa State football game, was read. The hostess then spoke about "gathering a Negro fund" to be paid to Anna and Cora Mae Trice. The *Tribune* claimed that every Negro in the city contributed to the fund.³²

Reports varied as to the actual conduct of the Minnesota players at the time of Jack's injury. Some reports stated that Jack had been intentionally trampled. Some spectators reported that Jack had been "stomped on viciously, even bitten." But others denied that Minnesota players had intentionally injured Jack. One Iowa State player on the field that day, Harry Schmidt, interviewed in 1973, described what happened on the field from his perspective as left guard (Trice played right tackle): "Well, [Minnesota] had a powerful offensive drive with good interference, and they had three blockers ahead of this runner. Jack had said in [his] letter . . . that he would throw himself before an interference. He did a roll block. And someone just happened to step on his stomach, as they went by." Schmidt added that a close high school friend of his who was editor of the *Daily Minnesotan*, the University of Minnesota's student newspaper, called Schmidt and asked if he felt that Trice had been intentionally hurt. "And I said, 'Absolutely not.' I said I was there. I was moving over toward the play and saw him throw that block in there and saw him get stepped on."³³

32. *Ames Tribune*, 10/22/1923.

33. *Des Moines Register*, 10/31/1975; Harry Schmidt interview. In an interview in 1973, William Thompson, another Iowa Stater who was present that day, recalled, "Jack used a block against the Minnesota backfield. It was a dangerous block to use in my opinion and it was safe enough if you had the good fortune and the strength to end up on all fours. This was called a roll block. You had to roll under the backfield and that had a devastating effect on the runner, you see. It trips him right at the ankles. So, it's effective psychologically on the backfield to use it." Dr. Thompson interview.

Johnny Behm, another player on the field that day and a high school teammate of Jack's in Cleveland, told the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in a 1979 interview that on the disputed play, Trice had "possibly been wrestled to the ground instead of blocked." He added that Trice ended up on his back "in the path of a line plunge." Behm didn't think there was anything intentional on the part of the Minnesota players: "It was a straight power play. I mean, I'm sure there was nothing intentional because there hadn't been any remarks or incidents leading up to it." Behm added, "Anyhow, the fullback, going through the hole, stepped on Jack's stomach and maybe his groin. . . . He was badly hurt and tried to get up and wanted to stay in. We saw he couldn't stand and helped him off the field."³⁴

Other accounts provide no clear consensus on the intent of the Minnesota players. Steven Jones, author of *Football's Fallen Hero: The Jack Trice Story*, stated that while doing research for his book, he interviewed two people who had seen the play: "One person told me that nothing out of the ordinary happened. But another who saw it said it was murder."³⁵ The article appearing in the *Des Moines Tribune* the day of Trice's death stated that Trice was injured "when most of the Minnesota team piled on top of him in an off-tackle play." Merl Ross believed that the Minnesota players "wanted to knock Trice out of the game because he was black." He added, "I'm sure that was their purpose. . . . They wanted to get him out of there. And that's what they did."³⁶

The University of Minnesota's president, L. D. Coffman, sent his condolences to President Pearson, adding that the play in which Jack was injured "took place directly in front of me. Of course, it is difficult to describe these things after they have

34. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 6/3/1979, in Trice Papers.

35. Quoted in Griffin, "ISU Only I-A School," 3.

36. *Des Moines Tribune*, 10/8/1923; *Iowa State Daily*, 9/15/1989, in Trice Papers. Merl Ross's view that the Minnesota team wanted Trice, a star player, out of the game, is discussed by Jessica Schultz, "Moments of Impact," 49–50. Schultz writes that, "logically speaking," if teams wanted to injure their opponents' best players, then injuries inflicted might have been because of their playing ability, not the color of their skin. Johnny Behm expressed the same view: "The Minnesota boys just did what anybody does when a man is real good and making you look real bad." See *Newsweek*, 9/17/1984.

once happened, but it seemed to me that he threw himself in front of the play on the opposite side of the line. There was no piling up."³⁷

It does not appear from the extant letters, articles, and reports that there was an official inquiry into whether the Minnesota players had intentionally injured Jack Trice. Only one memo in the Trice Papers refers to a possible investigation of the incident. On October 9, John L. Griffith, Commissioner of Athletics for the Intercollegiate Conference, sent a message to ISC officials: "Associated Press Dispatch from Ames states that your boy died from injuries received when most of the Minnesota line piled on top of him in an off tackle play. Would you care to issue as to whether or not injuries were result of unfair plays?" An ISC official replied to Griffith the same day, stating, "Willaman and the men under him advised me that they did not discern any special massing on Jack Trice. He was an exceptional player and of course made trouble for the Minnesota team."³⁸

Later that month professors L. H. Pammel and W. F. Coover along with football coach Sam Willaman issued a resolution on the part of the industrial science faculty. The resolution stated that Jack Trice was an exceptional athlete "who lost his life for Iowa State College" in the game with Minnesota.³⁹ The resolutions, statements, and tributes for Jack were highly laudatory: that Jack Trice gave his life for the sake of his school and his team, that he had been heroic on the field, and that his death had been a great loss to his race and to Iowa State College. Perhaps the most straightforward comment came in a letter written by President Pearson to President Coffman at the University of Minnesota.

Thank you sincerely for sympathy on account of the death of Jack Trice. He was an exceptionally good student as well as a great athlete. His mother came to take away her boy's body and we who saw her felt that we had never met a more refined colored woman.

37. L. D. Coffman to Raymond Pearson, 10/18/1923, Trice Papers.

38. John L. Griffith, memo, 10/9/1923, Trice Papers; Memo responding to Griffith (with no letterhead and no name or signature), 10/10/1923, Trice Papers.

39. Resolution signed by L. H. Pammel, Sam Willaman, and W. F. Coover (no date, no letterhead), Trice Papers.

The more I know about Jack Trice the more I feel that the colored race has lost a man who would have become a great leader.⁴⁰

The next year, Jack's teammates placed a plaque in State Gym in Jack's memory. The plaque was inscribed with the letter Jack wrote on the eve of the Minnesota game, a letter that would be reprinted again and again over the next 70 years.

In 1988, some 65 years after Jack Trice's death, Iowa State officials received a letter from Jack's widow, Cora Mae Greene. In that year ISU students had commissioned a sculpture of Jack Trice; they sent Mrs. Greene a photo of the sculpture and copies of the dedication program. Mrs. Greene wrote back on August 3, 1988, to thank Iowa State officials for sending her the information. In large scrawling letters, her message poignantly described her memories of Jack and his death.

Jack's passing was a great shock to me. He was my first love and I have many beautiful memories of him and our short life together.

The night that he was leaving for Minnesota with his coach, he came to tell me good bye, we kissed and hugged and he told me that he would come back to me as soon as he could.

The day of the game, I was [on campus], I heard it announced that he had been injured. I stood and bowed my head and then I heard that he walked from the field. I felt some what relieved. Monday noon I was in the cafeteria. His fraternity Bro Mr. Harold Tutt came to me and said that I was to go to the campus hospital. I did. When I saw him I said 'Hello Darling.' He looked at me, but never spoke.

I remember hearing the Campanile chime 3 o'clock. That was Oct. 8th, 1923, and he was gone.

Sincerely yours,
Cora Mae Trice Greene⁴¹

FOR MANY YEARS after Jack Trice's death the one physical reminder of his time at Iowa State was the commemorative plaque his teammates had placed in State Gym in 1924. The

40. Raymond Pearson to President L. D. Coffman, 10/20/1923, Trice Papers.

41. Cora Mae Trice Greene, Pomona, California, to David Lendt, ISU Office of Information Services, 8/3/1988, Trice Papers. Lendt had notified Mrs. Greene of the dedication of the Jack Trice statue. The Trice Papers also include other letters from Anna Trice, Cora Mae Trice, and Cora Mae's parents, all expressing their grief but thanking ISC for its concern and support.

plaque's location seemed fitting: this was the gym where Jack worked as a student and where he worked out as an athlete. Apparently the plaque attracted little attention, however, and even a few years after his death, most Iowa State students probably knew nothing of the Trice story. But some three decades later, in 1957, an undergraduate at Iowa State discovered the plaque covered with dirt and grime. Tom Emmerson was intrigued. He later commented about his discovery: "I had never heard of [Jack Trice]. I talked to some people in the athletic department office and then I went to the library and wrote a piece about him." Emmerson recalled that the story, which appeared in *The Iowa State Scientist*, stirred little, if any, student interest.⁴²

Sixteen years would pass between Emmerson's discovery of the plaque in State Gym and the reawakening of student interest in the story of Jack Trice. In that 16-year period, the social and political climate in the country would undergo a vast change. After the Korean War ended in the early 1950s, the rest of the decade was relatively peaceful. In the 1950s, college students were described as passive and career oriented. They majored in traditional courses: engineering, agriculture, and science for young men and home economics for young women. Americans, in general, focused on domestic issues, and political activism of any kind seemed remote. As college students turned inward, it is not surprising that Emmerson's article on Jack Trice went largely unnoticed.⁴³

Not until the 1960s and 1970s did student protests become visible on the Iowa State campus and in the city of Ames, first related to the needs of black students and later to the Vietnam War. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 focused national attention on the discrimination endured by African Americans, but even earlier, black students at Iowa State had spoken out against the mistreatment they faced in the Ames

42. Griffin, "ISU only I-A School"; Emmerson, "Jack Trice." *The Iowa State Scientist* was a student publication, published quarterly, which included topics of general interest to students and items specific to the Science Division.

43. On American society in the 1950s, see, for example, Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, rev. ed. (New York, 2008); and Myra Dinnerstein, *Women Between Two Worlds: Midlife Reflections on Work and Family* (Philadelphia, 1992).

community. In 1961 the *Iowa State Daily* reported that African American and foreign students experienced “rampant discrimination and extreme difficulties” in finding adequate housing in Ames. One black student reported that he had made “tentative agreements” with at least 15 landlords by phone, but when he started “making the rounds,” he found all the vacancies filled. On campus, black students made clear their resentment that the university had been unresponsive to their requests to recruit more black students and black professors.⁴⁴

In the late 1960s, Iowa State administrators did begin to respond to the black students’ needs. In 1968 ISU established a pilot program to increase minority enrollment; President W. Robert Parks then established a new position, Director of Minority Affairs. George Christensen, then Vice-President for Academic Affairs, recalled that ISU presented “career days” in inner-city areas — to recruit black students — and tried to make ISU “more hospitable for those who did come to Ames.” In 1969 members of the newly formed Black Student Organization asked university officials to create a center for black students on campus. With a grant of \$2,000 from the VEISHEA Central Committee (a student group responsible for planning the annual spring celebration on campus known as VEISHEA) and assistance from the ISU administration, the Black Cultural Center was opened a year later. The center hosted many activities, including Sunday evening dinners and dance classes, and generally provided a “home away from home” for black students.⁴⁵

The following year, however, relations between black students and the community of Ames took a dramatic turn downward. In April 1970 two white students, Larry Munger and Chuck Jean, and a black student, Roosevelt Roby, were involved in a confrontation in a local tavern. All three men faced charges, but when police arrived to arrest Roby at his apartment, several

44. Jenny Barker Devine, “Loyal and Forever True: Student Life at Iowa State University,” in *A Sesquicentennial History of ISU*, 166. In 1960 Iowa State College was renamed Iowa State University of Science and Technology; it will be identified hereafter as just ISU.

45. *Ibid.*, 167; George Christensen, e-mails to author, 10/7/2009 and 10/8/2009; Schultz, “Moments of Impact,” 78. Schultz writes that the pilot program was controversial because it lowered admission standards for minority students.

other blacks prevented police from putting Roby in a squad car. The charges against Roby included assault and battery (for hitting Jean with a beer mug) and resisting execution of due process. The next day, an estimated crowd of 50 African Americans appeared in front of the Ames City Hall to "protest what they termed unfair policy treatment."⁴⁶

The hearing and subsequent trial of Roby and Charles Knox (who was involved in resisting Roby's earlier arrest) was marred by two episodes of violence. On the first day of Roby's hearing, the presiding judge, John McKinney, discovered a bomb in his garage. Police later determined that it was an "incendiary device," which was quickly disarmed. Police could not determine who had placed the device there, but Ames residents were "shaken." Some three weeks later, the trial against Roby and Knox began; it lasted two days and both men were found not guilty. The morning after the verdict was announced, a loud explosion rocked downtown Ames. A bomb placed inside City Hall had exploded, injuring 13 people; a state trooper in the building lost sight in one eye. Again, police were not able to determine guilt, although many in Ames believed that African Americans were responsible for the violence.⁴⁷

By the following fall, tensions had lessened on the campus and in the community, but the earlier violence had undoubtedly strengthened the convictions of ISU officials that more needed to be done to respond to the concerns of black students. Recruitment efforts in cities such as Chicago continued. Christensen and other administrators met with black students to enlist their help in attracting more black students to campus and to discuss their concerns. Christensen also established the Affirmative Action Office at ISU in 1973.⁴⁸ Another specific program was Project 400, described as a "program of university commitment to

46. Robert Underhill, *Alone among Friends: A Biography of W. Robert Parks* (Ames, 1999), 162–63.

47. *Ibid.*, 166, 167. At the time, Charles Knox was head of the Black Panther Party in Des Moines. See Underhill, 162–63; and Bruce Fehn and Robert Jefferson, "North Side Revolutionaries in the Civil Rights Struggle: The African American Community in Des Moines and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, 1948–1970," *Annals of Iowa* 69 (2010), 51–81. Apparently, of the African Americans who had interfered with Roby's arrest, only Knox was arrested.

48. Christensen, e-mails to author.

minority student recruitment and development"; the program was implemented in August 1973. As the name implied, ISU hoped to recruit a total of 400 undergraduate and graduate minority students by 1977–78. Recruitment would take place in cities in the Northeast but also in Iowa, particularly in Waterloo and Des Moines. Once on campus, minority students would receive counseling and tutoring, and advising would be made available to them.⁴⁹

By 1970, the year the bomb exploded in Ames City Hall, students at ISU were already speaking out against the Vietnam War. Protests at ISU were "smaller and less volatile" than at other universities but still represented a "contentious and dangerous issue" on the campus. ISU students burned their draft cards, held large protest rallies against the war, and tried to prevent buses carrying draftees from leaving Ames. In the spring of 1970, a major concern was the VEISHEA celebration, scheduled to take place only days after the shootings at Kent State. Amid strong feelings both for and against the war — on campus and in the Ames community — students held the annual event, but the traditional parade included two additional marches: an antiwar "March of Concern" and a "Patriots" march in support of the war.⁵⁰

ISU would survive the protests and remain open for the full 1970–71 school year. Some 200 other universities around the country would not, having ended the school term early.⁵¹ Still, the war issues and the extreme dichotomy they produced between supporters and opponents created a time of tension, anxiety, and mistrust of authority figures. It was a time when students increasingly challenged authority and defied institutional regulations and procedures. Given this backdrop, the time proved right for a renewed interest in Jack Trice's life; before long, his story would once again become well known on the ISU campus.

Another development on the ISU campus at the same time added to the renewed interest in Jack Trice. In the fall of 1973, the university was in the midst of constructing a football stadium, a far larger and more complete facility than the existing

49. W. Robert Parks Papers, University Archives, Iowa State University Library.

50. David Hamilton, "Science with Humanity: The Parks Years," in *A Sesqui-centennial History of ISU*, 92–96.

51. *Ibid.*

stadium, Clyde Williams Field. The university was undoubtedly hoping that a major donor would come forward to help finance the facility, which carried an estimated cost of \$7.6 million; in turn, the stadium would likely carry the donor's name. By the fall of 1973, however, no major donor had appeared.

EVENTS ON AND OFF CAMPUS provided a context that supported a revival of student interest in Jack Trice, but individuals also played crucial roles. In 1973 Charles Sohn and Alan Beals both found themselves at Iowa State, Sohn as an instructor in the English Department and Beals as an Athletic Department tutor. According to Sohn, he and Beals had been "close friends from childhood, through our Eagle Scout days, on into college when circumstances eventually delivered us both to Iowa State."⁵² As young, white men raised in Harlan, Iowa, in a state roughly 99 percent white, they seemed unlikely candidates to spark a renewed interest in a black athlete who died of injuries in an Iowa State football game 50 years earlier.

Beals first became aware of the Trice story in 1973, when he noticed the Trice plaque while working in State Gym. Beals promptly shared the story with Sohn, whose reaction was immediate and enthusiastic. Sohn later recalled that it was a "reaction to the pure human beauty of the Trice material." Sohn remembered that he and Beals "talked long into the night." Reflecting many years later on his part in the Jack Trice story, Sohn attributed his immediate reaction to "an ingrained liberalism (maybe as rebellion against my all-Caucasian high school) to an affinity for most manifestations of Black America from the 1950s on." Sohn added that perhaps his interest in the Trice story also stemmed from guilt at not having taken part in earlier civil rights activities. Sohn's "affinity for most manifestations of Black America" was revealed in other ways. At Iowa State, he served as a faculty adviser and contributor to the campus Black Cultural Center and frequently worked with black students in the English Department.⁵³ The "Trice cause," as Sohn called it, seemed a

52. Charles Sohn, e-mail to author, 4/5/2009. Sohn was a tenured instructor in the ISU English Department from 1964 to 1989.

53. *Ibid.*

perfect fit, given his strong identification with African Americans and his commitment to racial equality.

Soon, Beals and Sohn began publicizing the Jack Trice story. The first step was an article in the *Iowa State Daily* on October 5, 1973. Written by Jim Smith, *Daily* sports editor, and Alan Beals, the story was apparently the first, or one of the first, articles on Trice to appear in campus publications since 1957. The authors laid out what was known of Trice's time at Iowa State and his untimely death. They included the letter Trice had written before the Minnesota game.⁵⁴

But it was another project that would directly involve Sohn in the Trice project. In 1973–74 Sohn designed and taught a two-quarter freshman English class consisting of six black males, six white females, six white males, and six black females. The class was one of numerous deliberate efforts to provide African American students with “support, comfort, and integration into campus life.” Sohn shared the story of Jack Trice with his students, who immediately became interested in the topic. Sohn remembered that the class members “took on small research and writing projects relevant to Trice, early athletics, [and] institutional racism.” He also recalled that at one of the class's small-group meetings, “a black woman from Chicago pushed the notion of a Jack Trice Stadium.” Sohn considered the suggestion “a natural — immediately getting us into lively banter about the extreme odds of such a name being picked by the old-white-boys establishment [at Iowa State]. And the challenge of it all . . . it caught fire.”⁵⁵ To help get their project off the ground, the students formed the Jack Trice Memorial Stadium Committee, the first of many efforts to publicize the proposed stadium name. A short time later, ISU's Government of the Student Body (GSB) voted unanimously to recommend the renaming of the stadium.⁵⁶

Although Sohn's class ended in March 1974, the students' commitment to commemorating Jack Trice continued as the

54. *Iowa State Daily*, 10/5/1973, in Trice Papers. According to Sohn, Beals tutored mainly football players at ISU; in the mid-1970s, Beals followed football coach Johnny Majors first to the University of Pittsburgh and then to the University of Tennessee, where Beals continued as an athletic tutor.

55. Sohn e-mail, 4/5/2009.

56. *Iowa State Daily*, 2/6/1974, in Trice Papers.

class carried out one more project. Pam Dee (now Pam Geringer) recalled that in the spring of 1974 class members set up a booth at VEISHEA to gather signatures to name the stadium for Trice. Then, with signatures in hand, four students, including Dee, met with an administration official. Apparently the administrator showed little interest in the students' effort. Dee recalled her strong sense of disappointment at the lack of a positive response. She had been raised on a farm near the small eastern Iowa town of Springville, a community she described as all-white. Like so many Iowa young people of her generation and before, she had had almost no contact with minorities. Upon first hearing the story of Jack Trice, she thought the project to study Trice's life was something she and the other students should do to be informed citizens and possibly make a difference at ISU.⁵⁷ According to the *Daily*, Dee had done much of the research and collecting of Trice material, which resulted in a substantial scrapbook; she and other class members even wrote letters to residents in Ravenna and Hiram, Ohio, inquiring about Jack's early life there.⁵⁸

Over the next 15 years, from 1973 to 1988, Charles Sohn played a crucial role in keeping the Jack Trice campaign alive and moving ahead. He remembered that he and Beals "produced most of the early printed matter of the 'Trice movement.'" Sohn served on the Jack Trice Memorial Committee — sometimes composed of just one or two students plus Sohn — dedicated to promoting "specific Trice memorials." The committee worked to expand knowledge about Trice's life and time at ISC by locating archival records and doing interviews with his contemporaries. The committee also raised money for scholarship funds, memorial events, and the commissioning of a bronze sculpture (completed in 1988). In general, the committee worked to keep the stadium renaming issue before students, administrators, and the public.⁵⁹

As for Sohn himself, his sustained commitment to promoting the "Trice cause" stemmed from deep convictions about long-

57. Pam Dee Geringer, interview with author, Ames, Iowa, 4/23/2009.

58. *Iowa State Daily*, 10/5/1973, 3/6/1974, 2/6/1974, in Trice Papers.

59. Sohn e-mail, 4/5/2009; Charles Sohn, e-mail to author, 4/17/2009.

time injustices in American society as well as deep empathy for Trice's story. Arriving at ISU as a freshman in the 1960s, Sohn shared the views of many students that American society was rampant with injustices such as "racism, sexism [and] warlike colonialism." Sohn added his own abiding anger at what he viewed as an entrenched old order within the ISU administration, an administration he referred to as "the establishment." Sohn explained that for himself and some other students, there was a "definite feel of 'them vs. us' in the Trice movement." At the same time, he viewed Jack Trice as a mythic figure whose tragic story had a "pure human beauty" and "great warmth." The story of this young black man whose life had ended so abruptly touched Sohn and his students deeply.⁶⁰

Motivation aside, the effort to rename the ISU stadium resulted in a lengthy campaign. Sohn recognized that to keep the cause moving along, it needed a guiding hand that would occasionally "stir the pot" of student interest. From the beginning, Sohn worked to exert influence through two platforms: the student paper, the *Iowa State Daily*, and the GSB. He "gained the ear" of the *Daily's* editors, who, for the most part, from 1973 to 1988, supported the Trice campaign. Tom Emmerson, who as a student in 1957 had written a story about Jack Trice that stirred little interest, now served as faculty adviser for the student paper; Emmerson totally supported the renaming project as did many other faculty in the Journalism Department, the *Daily's* home department. In the 1970s the GSB selected Sohn as its faculty adviser, giving him a close working relationship with members of the student government. And, as Sohn pointed out, in terms of the student population-at-large, it required only a handful of passionately vocal students in each generation to keep the issue alive.⁶¹

THE INITIAL EFFORTS by Alan Beals, Charles Sohn, and the 1973–74 freshman English classes laid the groundwork for the 24-year campaign that would follow. Throughout the mid-seventies, numerous articles on Trice's career at Iowa State ap-

60. Sohn e-mail, 4/5/2009.

61. Ibid.; Tom Emmerson, phone conversation with author, 4/20/2009.

peared in the *Iowa State Daily*, the *Ames Tribune*, and the *Des Moines Register*. On February 15, 1975, an article in the *Daily* reported that when the stadium was finished, the University Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets would consider naming the stadium. Committee members stated that *Jack Trice Stadium* would be considered along with other suggestions. Student input, they announced, would be important.⁶²

At the same time, a columnist for the *Des Moines Register*, Donald Kaul, also became intrigued with the Trice story and wrote periodically about the renaming issue. From the start, Kaul supported naming the stadium for Trice. Referring to the stadium as "no name stadium," Kaul, often with caustic humor, lambasted university officials for their refusal to act on the name change. Certainly Kaul's columns broadened public attention to the issue, but his efforts were not always appreciated by supporters such as Charles Sohn, who believed that Kaul's attitude was sometimes demeaning toward Trice.⁶³

Other Iowa State groups commemorated Trice in different ways. In October 1975, for example, the Black Cultural Center, with Sohn as its adviser, named its library the Jack Trice Resource Center.⁶⁴

Throughout the long student campaign, polls indicated that a majority of ISU students supported naming the stadium for Jack Trice. In October 1975, the *Daily* reported that the November 5 ballot for GSB officers would also poll students as to their preference for a stadium name. Seven choices appeared, including Jack Trice Memorial Stadium, Cyclone Stadium, and Clyde Williams Memorial Stadium. Sohn stated that he wanted the poll carried out "to send [a message to] the Board of Regents which makes the final decision of what to name the stadium." A majority of students voted for Jack Trice Memorial Stadium. The GSB followed with a resolution recommending the name change. At the same time, students took umbrage to university officials referring to the stadium as Cyclone Stadium when that

62. *Iowa State Daily*, 2/15/1975, in Trice Papers.

63. *Ibid.*, 10/21/1975, in Trice Papers. For examples of Kaul's columns about the stadium's name, see *Des Moines Register*, 9/17/1975, 9/28/1975, 10/13/1975.

64. *Ibid.*, 10/24/1975, in Trice Papers.

name had not been officially adopted. Meanwhile, in a telephone survey of 200 ISU students, 71 percent favored naming the stadium after Jack Trice.⁶⁵

The Trice campaign produced some success in March of the following year, when President W. Robert Parks created a special ad hoc committee to name the new stadium. The committee consisted of two students, two faculty members, two staff members, and two alumni. The university's Faculty Council, composed mostly of ISU faculty, had also requested the action. Parks made it clear that stadium ownership was with the ISU Foundation and would remain there until the stadium was debt free, but he hoped that the recommendation to name the stadium would be "forthcoming before the end of the school year." Parks said he would "seek permission from the Foundation Board of Governors to recommend a name for the stadium . . . [before] the stadium is turned over to the University." That did not happen, however; instead, the Board of Regents voted to defer the name change until the transfer of ownership from the ISU Foundation to Iowa State University took place. That decision meant that the renaming process would be delayed for another three or four years.⁶⁶ The reason for the regents' decision is not clear. ISU professor William Kunerth thought the decision was "ridiculous." "It didn't make any sense at all. Here they've got this legend laid out in front of them and it was perfectly fine and logical and [the administration] just hemmed and hawed and stalled." Tom Emmerson agreed, adding, "In all probability that was just another ploy. They could have named it, in my opinion, anytime they wanted to."⁶⁷

For the next few years, the *Iowa State Daily* periodically carried articles, editorials, and letters to the editor promoting the renaming of the new stadium. In May 1977 student Mike See-

65. Ibid., 10/30/1975, 11/1/1975, 11/12/1975, 11/13/1975, in Trice Papers. At one point, the situation became rather contentious when the president of the student body, Jamie Constantine, stated that one member of the Advisory Committee on the Naming of Buildings and Streets, Vice President for Information Carl Hamilton, should resign because he could not be objective. *Iowa State Daily*, 11/12/1975, in Trice Papers.

66. Ibid., 3/11/1976, 11/1/1976, in Trice Papers.

67. Quoted in Schultz, "Moments of Impact," 93. Both Kunerth and Emmerson were faculty members of the ISU Journalism Department.

muth wrote that even after the regents had delayed the naming process, the issue “had not dried up and blown away.” At the same time, the Jack Trice Memorial Foundation had been revived, funded by the GSB. One of its first activities was to sponsor a Jack Trice Week the following fall. Seemuth explained that the Foundation’s purpose was clear: “Sustain student support for Jack Trice Stadium until the University becomes the official owner of the stadium — at which time the Regents will reconsider the stadium-name issue.” A few months later, a *Daily* column, “Point of View,” suggested that the university’s purpose in delaying the name change was evident: hold off on renaming the stadium until the present group of students graduates and then younger students will be unaware of the Jack Trice story. Then the stadium can be named “‘Cyclone’ or ‘Alumni’ or something else.”⁶⁸

That prediction would not play out, however. The Jack Trice story was kept alive, sometimes by student activity, sometimes by letters written by Charles Sohn, and sometimes by those outside the university. In 1979, in one of his *Des Moines Register* sports columns, Maury White quoted from an article published earlier in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. That newspaper’s sports editor, Hal Lebovitz, upon hearing the story of Jack Trice, had tracked down Trice’s teammate Johnny Behm for his memories of Trice and the memorable Minnesota football game. White’s article helped keep the Trice campaign alive.⁶⁹

In the 1980s the pattern continued as the *Daily* and the *Des Moines Register* carried articles on Trice, and the GSB continued to show support for renaming the stadium. In the fall of 1980, the *Daily* announced that the on-again, off-again, Jack Trice Memorial Foundation was once again back in business, again promoting the cause of Jack Trice Stadium and distributing newsletters. Sohn, serving as consultant for the foundation, said the purpose was to “give people an avenue to communicate their opinions to the state Board of Regents.” Shortly thereafter, the GSB Senate appropriated \$500 for publicity to promote the Jack Trice proposal. The money was used to buy advertisements

68. *Iowa State Daily*, 5/13/1977, in Trice Papers.

69. *Des Moines Register*, 6/20/1979, in Trice Papers.

on three area radio stations and one in the *Daily* and to hire a pilot to fly over the stadium during a football game trailing a banner proclaiming, "Welcome to Jack Trice Stadium."⁷⁰

Publicity efforts continued the following year. During the summer several Iowa State students rented a billboard that read: "Welcome to Ames, Home of Jack Trice Memorial Stadium." Steve de Prosse, a political science major, and Rick Yoder, mechanical engineering, believed that the billboard would have more effect — being up for a month — than the flying banner had the previous year. De Prosse reiterated the students' belief that the administration "hopes students will forget about it [naming the stadium after Trice], especially if the decision is put off long enough." Efforts to solicit support from state officials for the renaming were rewarded in December, when Governor Robert Ray, through a spokesman, stated, "Gov. Ray's feeling was that he [Trice] was an excellent player and established that it would be a fitting memorial to Jack Trice. . . . The governor thinks it would be an appropriate name [for the stadium]."⁷¹

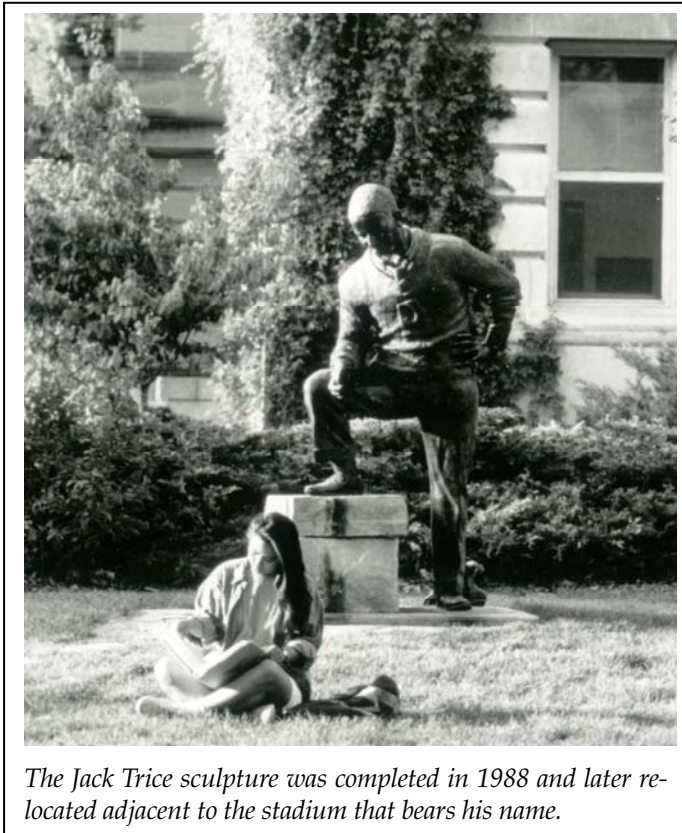
In 1983 ISU students achieved at least partial success. In December President W. Robert Parks, according to an article in *Newsweek*, "cut the baby in half" by naming the stadium Cyclone Stadium and the playing surface Jack Trice Field. The dedication came in 1984. Reporting on the action, the *Daily* noted, "following a lengthy and sometimes heated debate, the university recommended and the State Board of Regents approved naming the facility, Cyclone Stadium/Jack Trice Field."⁷²

If President Parks's action was intended to placate the students campaigning for the name change or supporters such as Charles Sohn, it did not have the desired effect. In fact, Parks's action seemed only to strengthen the students' resolve as they determined to honor the fallen football hero in yet another way: by commissioning a sculpture. According to former GSB president Julianne Marley, the idea stemmed from the disappointment some students felt after the decision to name only the playing field after Jack Trice. Mike Reilly, another former GSB

70. *Iowa State Daily*, 3/5/1980, 10/28/1980, in Trice Papers.

71. *Iowa State Daily*, 8/27/1981, 12/4/1981, in Trice Papers.

72. *Newsweek*, 9/15/1984, in Trice Papers.



The Jack Trice sculpture was completed in 1988 and later re-located adjacent to the stadium that bears his name.

president, explained that the GSB applied for funding for the sculpture from the Iowa Arts Council, the senior class, and the Alumni Association. All of the groups turned them down for a variety of reasons but “predominantly because people thought it was too political. So at the last meeting of the year [the GSB] allocated money for the statue and it was unanimous.” ISU students raised \$22,000 for the work and commissioned an artist, Chris Bennett of Fairfield, Iowa. Bennett emphasized Trice’s student role, presenting him in a sweater and casual slacks rather than in a football uniform. Once more, Charles Sohn’s influence was evident. Bennett, to acknowledge Sohn’s promotional role in commissioning the sculpture, included Sohn’s name “subtly as the ‘author’ of one of Jack’s bronze textbooks” included in the sculpture. The sculpture was unveiled on the

ISU campus, between Carver and Beardshear halls, on May 7, 1988. Several of Trice's cousins from Ohio were present for the ceremony.⁷³

While momentum for the Jack Trice renaming campaign continued among student groups and others, by the mid-1990s one more major campus development affected the Trice campaign. In 1995 ISU honored nationally known graduate Carrie Chapman Catt by renaming Botany Hall Carrie Chapman Catt Hall. Campus officials probably believed that it was a long overdue recognition for Catt, who had graduated from the school in 1880 and was widely recognized as a leading figure in the fight for woman suffrage. Not long after the renaming ceremony, however, a group of students calling themselves the September 29th Movement charged that in her writings Catt had made disparaging remarks about African Americans and immigrants. Because of her statements, they demanded that the university change the name of Catt Hall.⁷⁴

The September 29th Movement, led by graduate students Milton McGriff and Allan Nosworthy, carried on a highly visible campaign to rename Catt Hall, a campaign that extended over three years. Supporters conducted a sustained letter-writing campaign, held candlelight vigils, and organized campus marches. Nosworthy held a hunger strike that resulted in his hospitalization. In November 1996 university administrators filed charges of misconduct against four protesters after they held a gathering in Beardshear Hall without registering the event as required by school policy.⁷⁵

Although ISU administrators did not bow to the demands to rename Catt Hall, the September 29th Movement, with its fairly broad campus support, probably did cause President Jischke and his staff to rethink another issue related to race,

73. *Iowa State Daily*, 5/6/1988; *Ames Tribune*, 4/1/1988; *University News*, 5/6/1988, in Trice Papers; Sohn e-mail to author, 3/14/2009.

74. *Iowa State Daily*, 3/7/1996, in an unprocessed collection, RS 22/3/0/1, University Archives, Iowa State University Library.

75. *Iowa State Daily*, 11/6/1996, 10/1/1997, 3/6/1998; *Des Moines Register*, 3/7/1996, in University Archives, RS 22/3/0/1. After a long and often emotional campaign by the September 29th Movement, the *Iowa State Daily* reported on March 6, 1998, that GSB members (some of whom had supported the effort) had declared that it was time for closure on the Catt affair.

naming the stadium for Jack Trice. Jessica Lynn Schultz maintains that there is “an arguable connection” between the Trice naming campaign and the naming of Catt Hall. She argues convincingly that the decision to name the stadium for Trice “was a conciliatory gesture [by ISU administrators] designed to placate those offended by the memorial for Carrie Chapman Catt.”⁷⁶

Regardless of the reasons, in 1997 the campaign to rename the stadium finally succeeded. In addition to the impact of the September 29th campaign, something new had been added. Earlier, on October 15, 1996, the ISU Advisory Committee for the Naming of Buildings and Streets had recommended the change; the decision set in motion other changes, including a combined effort on the part of the students, the GSB, faculty, and the administration. Earlier, the committee had held a campus forum that indicated continued widespread support for the new name. The committee also sought input from a wide variety of groups, including the Academic Council, the Faculty Senate, the Alumni Association, the ISU Foundation, and the GSB. GSB President Adam Gold commented, “I personally felt strongly about [the name change] when I ran for this job [as GSB president]. I made it more of an issue than to just write a resolution.” In February 1997 President Martin Jischke agreed to recommend to the Board of Regents that the new name for the ISU football stadium be Jack Trice Stadium.⁷⁷

In his announcement, Jischke told the *Daily* that, along with considering both the GSB proposal and the recommendation from the Advisory Committee for the Naming of Buildings and Streets, he had done his own research on Trice. He noted that Trice had “brought an enthusiasm and a promise to the university. That is exemplary. I believe it is appropriate to recognize those qualities by naming the stadium for him.” Some two weeks later, Jischke presented the request to the regents with “an emotional tribute” to Trice; he also read the letter Trice had written in 1923. Jischke informed the regents that there was widespread support among ISU students for the name change

76. Schultz, “Moments of Impact,” 117. For a full discussion of the Catt controversy, see Schultz, “‘Stuff from Which Legends Are Made,’” 715–48.

77. *Iowa State Daily*, 2/4/1997, in Trice Papers.



Jack Trice Stadium, photographed in 2008.

as well as 85 percent support from student athletes. The regents approved the change by a vote of seven to two.⁷⁸ At the same time, the GSB voted to move the Trice sculpture from campus to a location near the football stadium.⁷⁹

Donald Kaul, whose columns in the *Des Moines Register* had often supported the renaming of the stadium, reacted to ISU's decision with his usual sarcastic humor. Believing that the decision was long overdue, he wrote, "You people have rocket scientists at Iowa State. You think you'd have figured it out long before now. It's nice to see it happen."⁸⁰

REGARDLESS OF OPINIONS, one thing was clear: ISU students had shown great tenacity in their support for the name change. For almost two-and-a-half decades, hundreds of ISU students had found the Jack Trice story inspirational and had believed strongly that his life should receive greater recognition than the placement of a single plaque in State Gym. Class after

78. Ibid.; *Des Moines Register*, 2/20/1997, in Trice Papers. Regents Nancy Pellett of Atlantic and Thomas Dorr of Marcus opposed the name change, both stating that they had received numerous calls opposing the move.

79. In 2009 public artist Ed Dwight completed another sculpture of Jack Trice, commissioned by the University Museums and the ISU Athletic Department. The seven-element sculpture, located on the east parquet wall of Jack Trice Stadium, highlights the life of Jack Trice.

80. Quoted in *Iowa State Daily*, 2/4/1997, in Trice Papers.

class of students, some of whom were GSB members, and some *Daily* staffers had kept the "Trice cause" alive, regardless of resistance by ISU administrators. Tom Emmerson, who first called attention to the State Gym plaque in 1957, gave primary credit to the students. "They were the ones who made this happen and they never let go." Charles Sohn, who himself had labored long and hard for public recognition of Trice, observed about ISU students: "There is something about the low key but tough idealism in small town Iowa that was touched by Trice." But, Sohn added, "In my final judgement, Jack Trice was the only person who caused the stadium to be named 'Jack Trice.' All these others and I were just groupies wanting to hang out with him."⁸¹

Many aspects of Jack Trice's life will never be known, but several things are clear: His own actions show that his is a story of courage, determination, and commitment, a story made all the more significant given that he lived at a time when major racial barriers stood in his way. In addition, as recalled by his contemporaries, he was an intelligent, sensitive, gracious young man, committed to doing well in his course work as well as being a highly gifted and committed athlete. Today, Jack Trice Stadium stands as testimony to this exceptional young man and his life at Iowa State and to a later generation of students who believed so strongly that his life deserved public recognition.

81. Griffin, "ISU Only I-A School."

“The Secret to a Successful Farm Organization”: Township Farm Bureau Women’s Clubs in Iowa, 1945–1970

JENNY BARKER DEVINE

IN 1945 Nell M. Forsyth of Muscatine County, Iowa, penned the 25-year history of the Cedar Valley Community Club, a township homemakers club affiliated with the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation and the Iowa State Cooperative Extension Service. Forsyth, a founding member of the local club, lauded the efforts of state IFBF leaders and county home economists, but noted that after more than two decades, seasoned club members had tired of uninspired Extension projects that produced “cheese that soon molded, hats that were never worn, and concocted meals that the hired help would never eat.” By 1945, club members saw themselves as community leaders who could “help solve some of the most perplexing questions, both local and national.” The women of Cedar Valley “needed no outside speaker to construct an interesting meeting” and no longer required direct guidance from state leaders. Forsyth concluded, “‘Growing up’ is as natural a process for a Club as well as an individual.”¹

1. Nell M. Forsyth, “Cedar Valley Club History,” June 1945, Cedar Valley Community Club Records, Iowa Women’s Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City (hereafter cited as IWA).

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The story of the Cedar Valley Community Club would have been familiar to farm women across Iowa; those who had joined home demonstration clubs in the 1920s as young homemakers had matured into veteran clubwomen by the 1940s. During and immediately after World War II, farm families enjoyed unprecedented economic prosperity, Farm Bureau membership reached record numbers, and women's clubs thrived. After nearly three decades of strong state-centered programming through the nine-member Iowa Farm Bureau Federation's Women's Committee (IFBFWC), however, club activities in the postwar period were characterized by a greater focus on local leadership. The IFBFWC supported this trend, as shifting rural demographics required new, more flexible programs to address the evolving needs of farm families, and the Farm Bureau ended its official association with the Extension Service. Nonetheless, state leaders maintained high standards and advised local clubwomen to engage in activities related to politics, agricultural policy, safety, rural health, law and order, international relations, and the preservation of democracy. In 1958 the IFBFWC declared that women's clubs had moved beyond simple home demonstration activities, graduating from "'chief cook and bottle washer' status into full fledged study and action groups which tackle problems ranging from world trade to school finance."²

Yet, rather than conforming to the ideals of state leaders, members of township Farm Bureau women's clubs became increasingly selective, focusing almost entirely on their neighborhoods, social events, and new trends in homemaking. This is not an indicator of resistance to or rejection of IFBFWC programs but rather the manifestation of social feminisms in the countryside. Social feminisms initially emerged during the Progressive Era and allowed women to politicize their domestic and maternal roles in female-led political organizations. Beginning in the 1910s, state IFBFWC leaders readily applied this rhetoric when organizing women's groups. By the 1950s, local women's choices clearly demonstrated that they had tailored social feminisms to their unique situations. Because of their non-threatening character, social feminisms proved highly adaptable for both rural and

2. "No Problem too Big for Women in the IFBF," *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* (hereafter cited as *IFB Spokesman*) 24 (1/4/1958), 2A.

urban women from a variety of occupational and social backgrounds, as they addressed issues ranging from suffrage to child labor to the need for good roads. Use of the plural “feminisms” recognizes this flexibility and diversity of social and political activities. In the case of farm women, social feminisms allowed women to draw from agrarian ideals that venerated agricultural producers as honest, hard-working citizens, and to identify their daily labor as inherently political.

For active female Farm Bureau members with years of experience, membership not only provided an indicator of social status and power within a community, but it also allowed some degree of personal empowerment and independence. Members believed themselves qualified to identify appropriate activities, even if their programs deviated significantly from those carefully designed by state and county leaders. Members of township clubs readily adopted the rhetoric of the IFBFWC that identified women as sophisticated activists whose clubs were essential to the overall mission of the Farm Bureau, although they typically viewed club meetings as opportunities for leisure and respite from their daily labors. Membership and leadership roles in local clubs were often fluid and flexible, reflecting gendered divisions of labor, shared work, and women’s idealized roles as homemakers. In the immediate postwar period, when technology drastically changed the nature of agricultural production and rural depopulation reduced their overall numbers, township clubs connected women to larger county, state, and national networks and offered women spaces in which to cope with changes in agriculture and rural life.

FOUNDED IN 1919, the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation (IFBF) employed principles of strong central leadership when it consolidated the existing county farm bureaus into the largest, most politically influential farm organization in the state. At the county and township levels, Farm Bureaus provided partial funding for Extension programs and adult education. The IFBF was a “family organization” that upheld gendered divisions of labor, but both male and female leaders at the state level validated women’s participation by reasoning that improving conditions in the



Many clubs demonstrated their loyalty to the group by keeping careful track of historical records, including news clippings, programs, and photographs. In 1953 members of the Freedom Township Women's Club turned historical recordkeeping into a social activity when they gathered at the home of June Miller to bring their scrapbooks up to date. The members, seated left to right, are Rachel Randa, Dorothy Place, June Miller, Bernice Banwart, Marge Solberg, and Lorraine Place. From Freedom Township Women's Club Records, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa, Iowa City.

countryside required the efforts of farm women. The IFBFWC, established in 1922 to oversee Farm Bureau women's clubs across the state, spent nearly 30 years empowering farm women to become involved in the greater organization. State leaders presented home economics as the pathway to women's education, community activism, and political participation. Sarah Elizabeth Richardson, a farm woman from Mahaska County, Iowa, and IFBFWC chairperson from 1922 until 1937, introduced elements of the broader, largely urban women's club movement into rural women's organizations by creating a hierarchy of leadership for women at the state, district, county, and township levels. She insisted that women's clubs were not auxiliaries but rather equal components within the IFBF, and required local clubs to recog-

nize the gravity of their work by conforming to rigid rules for leadership, recordkeeping, regulations, and programming.³

During World War II, however, Richardson's system became increasingly difficult to maintain as rationing and shortages prevented state leaders and Extension personnel from holding state conferences to share their plans for the coming year. They asked county and township leaders to develop and oversee their own programming. In 1944, for the first time in its 22-year history, the Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women's Committee allowed women in township clubs to select their own activities and recorded in its history that "developing leadership, [and] how to form policies and resolutions in the townships were beginning to be a part of the women's program." The women of Mahaska County hoped that this move would allow women to better address the "problems facing the farm people in the post war years," including economic security, roads, health, modern equipment, electricity, and rural schools. Much of the old system developed under Richardson's leadership remained intact, and following the war IFBFWC leaders sought balance between the local control desired by members of township clubs and the new ideals that the IFBFWC wanted farm women to achieve.⁴

The extent to which centralized state leadership affected the perceptions of women who joined township women's clubs has been at the center of scholarly debate for the past two decades. The hierarchical nature of the Farm Bureau suggests that state leaders, informed by middle-class Progressive Era ideals, exerted considerable control over the dissemination and application of information at the local level and that desires for local control might have been a manifestation of women's resistance. Historian Katherine Jellison asserts that because state and federal officials designed Extension programs that clearly defined farming as a male occupation, they devalued women's roles as agricul-

3. Dorothy Schwieder, *75 Years of Service: Cooperative Extension in Iowa* (Ames, 1993), 20–22, 34–37; Jenny Barker Devine, "'Quite a Ripple but No Revolution': The Changing Roles of Women in the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, 1921–1951," *Annals of Iowa* 64 (2005), 1–3.

4. Devine, "'Quite a Ripple but No Revolution,'" 26; Josephine Van Zomeren, "Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women," December 1971, Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women's Committee Records, IWA.

tural laborers. By focusing on home economics and pressuring women to behave as consumers, state and federal leaders unleashed an "onslaught of propaganda attempting to make women relinquish their role as farm producer." Similarly, historian Mary Neth argued that between 1920 and 1940, as state Farm Bureau and Extension leaders consolidated their power, they imposed middle-class, urban ideals on farm women that removed them from agricultural production as well as the business and politics associated with farming. Although homemakers clubs "never lost their local character," Neth concluded that by 1940, Farm Bureau clubs had undermined women's "traditionally active role in community groups and diminished the power they exerted in . . . encouraging neighborhood loyalty."⁵

When viewed from the local perspective, however, a very different story emerges. Historian LuAnn Jones found that at the grassroots, "government-sponsored rural reform assumed a more contested and less cohesive character." State leaders created centralized leadership networks, but local clubs ultimately determined the success or failure of programs. Women who joined township clubs expressed a sense of empowerment when selecting activities that fit their unique interests. Women did not join the Farm Bureau on an equal footing with men, but historian Nancy K. Berlage still found that local clubs offered women "access to new forms of cultural and political authority." Although Berlage wrote about the 1920s, the idea that all-female clubs were appropriate political outlets for women persisted throughout the twentieth century. In 1947, for example, Ardath Gasser, chairperson of the Howard County Farm Bureau Women, wrote that women needed to work with men and "offer more help" with IFBF legislative programs, but she did not expect women to entirely abandon their clubs. Instead, she wrote, "the township meeting is the secret to a successful farm organization," and she encouraged more women to attend women's county leadership workshops. Likewise, in 1954 chairperson Christine Inman stated that the IFBFWC should build from the "township

5. Katherine Jellison, *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913–1963* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993), xxi; Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900–1940* (Baltimore, 1995), 137–39.

level and up." Because national policies often originated as discussions in local clubs, the strength of the organization depended "upon the strength of our township Farm Bureaus." Inman described township chairpersons as foundational leaders with the power to set policies and propose IFBF resolutions on a wide variety of issues.⁶

To secure local leadership, the IFBFWC legitimated women's activities in public spaces by focusing on domestic and community responsibilities as well as their partnerships with men and their own deep connections to agriculture. Acknowledging their dependence upon men for access to land and resources was an important component of rural women's activism because a woman's ability to negotiate power within a family depended not on the economic, social, or political value of her work but entirely on her husband's notion of proper gender roles. Stepping outside of those roles might cause embarrassment for the family or frustrations at home when a woman made club work a priority. Such rhetoric remained central to the IFBWC as late as 1966, when Edna Garrels, chairperson of the Pocahontas County Farm Bureau Women's Committee, wrote, "The moral and religious tone of the nation is set in our homes. . . . This, then, is our first and probably our most important role, to set the moral and religious values of our nation." Garrels reasoned that because of their roles as the moral custodians of society, women needed to be involved with family spending decisions, farm management, business, marketing, the IFBF, and politics.⁷

6. LuAnn Jones, *Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002), 24, 38; Nancy K. Berlage, "Organizing the Farm Bureau: Family, Community, and Professionals, 1914–1928," *Agricultural History* 75 (2001), 426–28; "Township Meeting is Emphasized by Howard County Woman," *Official Bulletin of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation* (August 1947), 5; Christine Inman, "Strength of Structure Depends on Foundation," *IFB Spokesman* 22 (5/29/1954), 12.

7. Monda Halpern, *And On That Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900–1970* (Montreal and Kingston, 2002), 6–8; Mary Neth, "Building the Base: Farm Women and the Rural Community and Farm Organizations in the Midwest, 1900–1940," in *Women and Farming: Changing Roles, Changing Structures*, ed. Wava G. Haney and Jane B. Knowles (Boulder, CO, 1988), 339–55; Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm*, 137–39; Edna (Mrs. Otto) Garrels, "Role of Farmer's Wife Becomes More Important," *IFB Spokesman* 34 (9/9/1966), 12.

Historian Monda Halpern identifies this ideology as "social feminism," which utilized domestic and maternal discourses that encouraged women to organize separately in all-female spaces where they could exercise authority and develop leadership skills without the interference of men. The roots of social feminisms can be traced to women's movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but such rhetoric maintained its power well after World War II and appeared in both urban and rural settings. In her study of the National Federation of Republican Women, for example, historian Catherine Rymph found that after 1945, women increasingly focused on the "day-to-day work that received little glory but was critical to sustaining and building the party." Rather than questioning male leaders who often disregarded female participation, Republican women made themselves indispensable by feminizing such tasks as canvassing, voter registration, and organizing small-scale political events. By emphasizing domesticity, "hospitality and neighborliness," Republican women connected "partisan politics to the everyday lives of citizens in their communities." Similarly, members of Farm Bureau women's clubs asserted that activism could take place while carrying out one's daily activities. In 1954, while organizing a membership drive in Palo Alto County, county publicity chairperson Olga Rouse informed members that they did not need to go door to door or talk with unknown persons but rather "create interest in the organization by personal contact with their neighbors. We can invite our neighbor women to meetings and Farm Bureau activities. We can talk to them about the advantages of belonging."⁸

The empowering nature of social feminisms can be difficult to detect, especially in the rural context, because women celebrated feminine ideals and rarely challenged men's authority.

8. Halpern, *And On That Farm He Had a Wife*, 76–78; Louise I. Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism: The Politics of Ontario Farm Women* (Toronto, 1995), 27–28; Susan Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics: A Bridge to Social Activism of the 1960s," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia, 1994), 104; Catherine E. Rymph, *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage through the Rise of the New Right* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), 133, 137–38; Olga Rouse, "Contact Meeting Held by Farm Bureau Women," undated news clipping in Scrapbook, 1954, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA.

The strength and persistence of farm women's clubs, however, clearly demonstrate the pervasiveness of social feminisms and their appeal to local club members. Conceptions of women as activists and vital Farm Bureau members were not limited to state leaders. By the late 1940s, social feminisms clearly informed members of Farm Bureau township women's clubs who desired greater local control over club activities.

In 1948, when the women of Freedom Township in Palo Alto County celebrated their club's twenty-fifth anniversary, they wrote and performed a play that not only recounted key developments in the club's history but concluded by looking forward to a bright future in which the women of Freedom Township would find "new paths of usefulness, not only in her community, but in her county, her country, and her world." Their future development depended not on challenging patriarchy or seeking the integration of women into the IFBF but in continuing to develop leadership in an all-female club.⁹

SOCIAL FEMINISMS provided the language and context for women to assert their preferences at the local level, but changing rural demographics after 1945, as well as new policies within the IFBF and the Extension Service, also necessitated alternative strategies in rural women's activism. Maintaining rural communities wherein women shared work, friendship, and common ideals became especially important in the postwar period as more families moved away from the farm and informal neighborhood networks became less stable. Between 1950 and 1970, the average farm size in Iowa increased from 160 acres to nearly 250 acres, while the number of farms declined from 107,183 to 72,257. In 1950, 30 percent of Iowans lived on farms, but by 1960 that number had dropped to 24 percent, and by 1970 it had fallen to 18 percent. By 1980, just 13.4 percent of Iowans lived on farms.

9. Laura Schroeder, "A History of The Swastika Club," in Scrapbook, 1948, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA; Christine Inman, "Strength of Structure Depends on Foundation," *IFB Spokesman* 22 (5/29/1954), 12. When the women of Freedom Township formed their organization in 1923, they selected the name "Swastika Club." The swastika, an ancient emblem, comprised four "Ls," which had come to represent "luck, light, love, and light." In 1942, following U.S. entry into World War II, members voted to change the name of their club to the Freedom Township Women's Club.

Rural depopulation was a nationwide trend, but these changes were especially unsettling in states that depended on their agricultural productivity.¹⁰

Furthermore, technological and social changes meant that by the 1950s farm women lived in a vastly different world than that of their predecessors of the 1920s. In 1950, 90 percent of Iowa farms had electricity compared to 21 percent in 1930. Electricity allowed farm families to invest in household equipment: by 1960, 87 percent of Iowa farm homes had piped water, 96 percent a washing machine, 64 percent a freezer, 91 percent a telephone, and 91 percent a television. Moreover, declining prices for food and consumer goods made it more cost effective for women to purchase, rather than make, what they needed for their families. Modern conveniences and consumption of consumer goods required women to acquire new homemaking techniques, learn about agribusiness, or possibly earn cash income. More women took over the business aspects of their family farming operations, while in 1960 nearly 20 percent of farm women over 14 years of age held jobs off the farm, compared to 13 percent in 1950. As their labor evolved, fewer young women chose to become involved in homemakers clubs, often citing interest in other activities or a lack of time. By 1957, one national survey of Extension clubwomen found that only 11 percent of the 11,500 women surveyed were under the age of 30. The majority of Extension clubwomen across the nation (51 percent) were between 30 and 49; the remaining 38 percent were over the age of 50.¹¹

Income level and social class are two factors that, unfortunately, cannot be easily measured as contributing factors to the shift toward local leadership. Some scholars have suggested that Farm Bureau members tended to come from more prosperous farms and perhaps preferred exclusive membership, but not

10. U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Statistics: 1967* (Washington, DC, 1967), 443, 573; Willis Goudy et al., *Rural/Urban Transitions in Iowa* (Ames, 1996), 59, 82; Margaret Hanson et al., *Agriculture in Iowa: Trends from 1935 to 1997* (Ames, 1999), 29.

11. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Housing* (Washington, DC, 1963); Jellison, *Entitled to Power*, 155, 174; Jewell G. Fessenden, "These Are the Women Who Are Members of Home Demonstration Organizations in the United States: A Report from a National Study of Home Demonstration Members," Extension Circular 528 (Washington, DC, 1958), 2-5.

enough data has been compiled to draw broad, definitive conclusions. In her study of the American Farm Bureau Federation, historian Nancy K. Berlage hesitates to make "reductionist assumptions" about the economic backgrounds of Farm Bureau members, noting that "county membership lists are often incomplete or non-existent." There is evidence, however, to suggest that women involved in the Farm Bureau and Extension programs in the postwar period aspired to standards of living akin to those of urban and suburban middle-class families. In 1955 Marshall County home economist Greta W. Bowers reported a rapid growth in the number of families with conveniences such as freezers, televisions, decorative fireplaces, and musical instruments. Bowers also found that as rural homes became "increasingly more modern," more women demanded lessons on contemporary interior design and the selection of "accessories that add beauty." She predicted that as farm families came to enjoy more material comforts, rural women, like their urban counterparts, would have "more time to devote to her church and other civic affairs." Middle-class aspirations are further reflected in the photographs pasted into the scrapbooks of the Freedom Township Women's Club, in Palo Alto County, which reveal that by the late 1940s, women attended meetings with professionally styled hair and wearing fashionable dresses, with newly remodeled homes as their backdrop. Their meetings were clearly opportunities to engage in leisure activities and exhibit their tastes as consumers, and may have limited membership to those with the means to participate.¹²

The records of the IFBFWC, as well as those of township clubs, are silent on the issue of social class and economic difference. Instead, age was their primary concern. Township clubs celebrated founding members and the fact that their club might include second- or even third-generation members, but the overall increasing age of club members arose as a concern more often than any other factor when discussing programming changes, the recruitment of new members, and, by the late 1960s, rea-

12. Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm*, 134–35; Deborah Fink, *Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Tradition, and Change* (Albany, NY, 1986), 217; Berlage, "Organizing the Farm Bureau," 408; Fessenden, "These Are the Women," 2–3; Scrapbooks (1923–1967), Freedom Township Women's Club, IWA.

sons for declining membership. The Extension Service and the IFBFWC began to recognize the diverse needs of individuals at varied life stages in an age of rapid modernization. As they adapted programs to help rural residents adjust to depopulation, mechanization, electrification, and the rising costs of agricultural production, they also acknowledged that women often worked as farm laborers and bookkeepers. The Extension Service began offering instruction through the Farm and Home Development program designed to help married couples make decisions about production, implements, and marketing. Beginning in the 1940s, the IFBF also designed programs for "young marrieds" in which couples under 30 addressed such issues as land ownership versus tenancy, buying and leasing machinery, organizational participation, the importance of rural communities, and off-farm work. The IFBFWC strongly supported women's participation in groups for "young marrieds," hoping that the younger women would later become involved in women's clubs. Unfortunately, this expectation did not materialize, and by the late 1960s membership numbers declined rapidly.¹³

IN ADDITION to the evolving needs of farm families, the major organizational change that led the IFBFWC to focus on local developments occurred in 1954, when state and federal policy ordered the Extension Service to end its relationship with the Farm Bureau. By 1951, the IFBF provided more than 34 percent of the annual budget for Extension, which seemed to many politicians and policy makers a conflict of interest given the Farm Bureau's intense political activity. As a result of the separation, county and township clubwomen could no longer rely on the assistance of Extension home economists for planning activities. For example, the women of Freedom Township, in Palo Alto County, depended on their county home economist, Signora McFadden, to occasionally attend meetings and give lessons,

13. Dorothy Schwieder, "Cooperative Extension and Rural Iowa: Agricultural Adjustment in the 1950s," *Annals of Iowa* 51 (1992), 610-13; Summer Conference Booklet, Iowa Farm Bureau Women's Committee Summer Conference (1970), IFBFWC Records, Special Collections, Iowa State University Library, Ames; "Young People Farm Because They Like It; Join Farm Groups to Have Stronger Voice," *IFB Spokesman* 36 (10/18/1969), 13.

bring members up to date about Farm Bureau and Extension programs, and provide informational materials for the next year's work. Each month, McFadden also sent postcards to remind members about upcoming meetings and provided announcements to local newspapers. McFadden ended those practices in 1955, requiring the township club to assume responsibility for planning, procuring Farm Bureau materials from the state and county offices, and generating publicity. County Farm Bureaus throughout the state continued informal relationships with Extension personnel, but in a speech at the 1955 state conference, IFBFWC chairperson Christine Inman urged county and township clubs to cultivate new Farm Bureau leaders. In light of the separation, she said, "We have a tremendous responsibility to make policy and to carry it out. We need leadership. We must develop people dedicated to carrying out our plans."¹⁴

Over the next several years, the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* featured articles that lauded the efforts of county and township women's clubs to carry on despite the absence of county home economists. Intended to inspire members of women's clubs, one 1957 article told the story of Buchanan County, which lost its county home economist in August 1956. As the most experienced female leaders in the county, Farm Bureau women instituted their own programs under the guidance of the county women's committee chairperson. Working with women in 12 townships, Farm Bureau women oversaw the completion of more than 300 projects, including copper embossing, Swedish embroidery, home landscaping, and even a survey of rural mail delivery routes. The IFBFWC clearly expected women to assess the needs of families in the county and organize activities accordingly, though such expectations could prove frustrating in counties that maintained Extension home economists. In her

14. Memorandum: "Funds Expended in 1951 for County Extension Program," IFBF Records, Special Collections, Iowa State University Library, Ames; Memorandum: "State Farm Bureau-Extension Relationships," 1950, IFBF Records; E. Howard Hill to County Farm Bureau Presidents, 11/29/1954, IFBF Records; Schwieder, "Cooperative Extension and Rural Iowa," 606; Schwieder, *75 Years of Service*, 196; Scrapbooks (1954-1955), Freedom Township Women's Club, IWA; Mrs. I. J. Bulyer, Cherokee County, "Looking Both Ways," *The Summer Echo* (newsletter published during the IFBFWC Summer Conferences), 6/27/1955, Irene Hoover Papers, IWA.

1959 annual report, Linn County home economist Grace B. Drenkhahn chronicled her efforts to organize "cooperative organizational teas" for women on Extension's Family Living Committee and the county Farm Bureau Women's Committee. Yet Drenkhahn found that the Farm Bureau women simply assumed responsibility for planning the program, often subordinating the desires of the Family Living Committee.¹⁵

State IFBFWC leaders and local leaders at the county and township level agreed on the necessity for strong local leadership, but their visions for how this would take shape differed significantly. Concerned about the declining numbers of young farm women in their clubs, county and township leaders asked for more programs "directed to helping families acquire mental rather than physical or manual skills." Younger farm women were better educated, more likely to have urban backgrounds, and more likely to have had formal training in home economics. Similarly, seasoned members with honed domestic skills, whose children were either in school or out of the home, sought activities that offered intellectual and social respite from the constant demands of farming. In response, the IFBFWC encouraged women to develop new interests outside of agricultural production and home economics and to see their township meetings as forums for discussions about politics and social policy. At the 1952 IFBFWC Summer Conference, Marie Garnjobst, the third district committeeperson from Clay County, spoke about the need to alter existing programs and told county leaders, "We must evaluate activities and determine whether or not the program helps our women to become more intelligent, more effective, and more responsible as citizens." Good leaders who "sought progress" at the county level, Garnjobst stated, were those who encouraged women to adopt the state plans and asked women to think beyond the farm and home.¹⁶

15. "Buchanan County Farm Bureau Women Have Lively Program," *IFB Spokesman* 23 (4/6/1957), 13; "Linn County," *Annual Narrative Reports of County Extension Agents* (Ames, 1959), 26.

16. Jellison, *Entitled to Power*, 170–75; Fessenden, "These Are the Women," 2–5; "Farm Bureau's 10-Point Program for Agricultural Prosperity" (1953), IFBF Records; *The Summer Echo*, 6/10/1952, Irene Hoover Papers, IWA.

The IFBFWC sought to ensure that serious discussion of social and political issues took place in local meetings by producing handbooks for local leaders, designing informational courses to be taught at the county level, and encouraging women to use roll calls with political themes such as "Freedoms I would not want to lose." In addition, state leaders required local clubs to appoint chairpersons to study specific issues and then report back to the other members at their monthly meetings. For example, in September 1956, at the first meeting of the Franklin Township Women's Club in O'Brien County, members elected chairpersons to study "Freedom in the United States," "The Promotion of Agricultural Commodities," "Safety on the Farm," "Rural Mail Delivery," "Conservation," "Schools," and "Rural Health." During their one-year term, these women read Extension and Farm Bureau materials on their assigned topics, and they clipped articles from newspapers or magazines to share at meetings. They typically provided enough information for women to become aware of various issues, but not necessarily enough to explore problems in great detail. Studying "International Issues," for example, might include brief lessons about geography, how to start a correspondence with an international pen pal, or a presentation by a local student recently returned from a study abroad experience. For many of the members, though, this was their primary source for news and discussion on these issues. Occasionally, they developed community improvement projects based on what they learned. In 1948 the women of the Freedom Township Women's Club in Palo Alto County studied public health, and then cooperated with other civic and political groups to form the Palo Alto County Health Council. With a member of the women's club at its head, the new Health Council sought a tax levy to support a county health nurse.¹⁷

In order to measure the success of IFBFWC programs, and to ensure that women effectively used materials distributed by state leaders, townships clubs submitted annual reports and "score sheets." Beginning in the 1950s, the IFBFWC collected township

17. "Secretary's Book, 1956-1957," Franklin Township Women's Club Records, IWA; Fink, *Open Country Iowa*, 217; Schroeder, "A History of The Swastika Club."

score sheets at county leadership workshops. Township clubs could earn points in a variety of areas: for members of township clubs who attended county meetings, for the number of meetings held, for providing evidence that "a Farm Bureau lesson or emphasis was presented at each township meeting," for having their photographs published in the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman*, for donating to the Farm Bureau teacher scholarship fund, for having chairpersons to cover various issues, and for their unique township and county activities. Total scores were pitted against those of other township clubs, and clubs with high scores were recognized at the annual conferences. County leaders were also required to host annual events, such as Rural Women's Day or Family Night, where township clubs showcased their work through displays, skits, and presentations.¹⁸

In addition to publications, forms, and events, state leaders also provided constant encouragement and support for local leaders. At the 1952 IFBFWC Summer Conference, when state leaders selected annual programs, the ninth district committee-person urged county leaders to raise standards for Rural Women's Day by focusing more on the quality of the projects and presentations and less on the social aspects of the event. She said, "Rural Women's Day is a time to show appreciation for the leaders and workers who have contributed to this program throughout the year — but, we should not spend all day pinning on corsages." "Rural Women's Day," she added, needed to provide "a clear picture of the year's work in Extension Education and Farm Bureau programs" so that state leaders could evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts.¹⁹

IFBFWC LEADERS balanced this concrete advice with more abstract promises of personal and intellectual fulfillment. By engaging in their programs, township women could become "modern" farm women who not only worked to improve agriculture but who also embraced the urban ideals of consumer-

18. "Score Sheet for Rural Women's Clubs," for Freedom Township (1954), Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA; "Farm Bureau Women's Township Report and Score Sheet," for Westburg Township (9/29/1971), Anita Crawford Papers, IWA.

19. *The Summer Echo*, 6/10/1952, Irene Hoover Papers, IWA.

ism, femininity, and leisure. Club membership no longer helped women learn to “make do” with less, as it had in an earlier period, but was rather an indicator of leisure time and of one’s place in the new affluent society. As clubwomen’s desire for leisure activities and modern conveniences grew, comments about personal appearance, clothing, and style appeared regularly on the women’s page of the *Spokesman*, with advice on how to follow the latest trends. Whereas former IFBFWC chairperson Ruth Sayre, who served during the 1930s and 1940s, had been revered for her economical clothing and worn winter coat, in 1961 IFBFWC chairperson Alice Van Wert declared, “The American farm wife today is as hat-conscious and familiar with the latest in hair-dos and clothes as any woman in the city.” In other words, farm women could move away from iconic images of farmers’ wives as provincial drudges and instead present themselves as sophisticated women.²⁰

Generally, women in county and township clubs responded to the IFBFWC’s rhetoric and attempted to integrate more discussions about agricultural activism, politics, and social policy into their programs. Letters from women to the editor of the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman* demonstrate that they were very aware of the political and social issues facing rural America, and they wanted to be part of the solution. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, however, the IFBFWC provided little financial or logistical support for township clubs to actually apply information as community activists. For example, the IFBFWC encouraged women to study commodity promotion in order to understand agricultural markets. Yet rather than studying how to organize promotional activities in urban areas to educate consumers, township clubs primarily promoted commodities to themselves and other farm families. In 1958 the Freedom Township Women’s Club in Palo Alto County translated commodity promotion into the distribution to club members of paper napkins from the local Mallard Creamery that “pictured and encouraged the use of meat, milk, butter, and eggs in the home.” They also studied pamphlets printed by the Iowa State Dairy Commission and used them to write an article for the *Iowa Farm*

20. Julie McDonald, *Ruth Buxton Sayre: First Lady of the Farm* (Ames, 1980) 59; “Farm Wives Chic-to-Chic . . .,” *IFB Spokesman* 27 (3/18/1961), 4.

Bureau Spokesman that pointed "out the highly beneficial qualities of animal proteins in the daily consumption of these products." Likewise, in March 1960 the Highland Do-Better Club in O'Brien County joined a local pork producers association in a Lard Promotion Day. The women sponsored a "Bake It with Lard" contest, hoping to raise some money from the sale of winning entries. Yet the contestants, judges, and spectators were all from the local farming community and likely already understood the importance of effective marketing.²¹

Women in township clubs preferred community activities that offered tangible results and that did not require them to challenge established conventions in their rural communities pertaining to politics and gender. In the fall of 1952, when confronted with rural school consolidation, the women of Freedom Township in Palo Alto County became concerned that when the township school closed, residents would be left without a central meeting area or a place to vote in local elections. They established a committee to look into the issue, but rather than pursuing the matter through official political channels, they began informal discussions with neighborhood landowners and members of the school board to secure use of the facility. In April 1953 they purchased the building and declared the school to be "ours." They began budgeting for property taxes and physical improvements. Throughout the summer, they painted the walls, sewed curtains, and installed an electric stove, using volunteer labor and donated materials. Over the next decade, they held their monthly meetings, as well as special events, pancake suppers, and 4-H recognition days, at their Freedom Township Hall. They fulfilled a need in the community by preserving a local meeting place, but did so with the help of familiar residents and local resources.²²

21. Unattributed news clippings dated September 1958 and 9/22/1959 in Scrapbooks, 1958–1959, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA; Meeting Minutes, 3/7/1960, Highland Do-Better Club Records, IWA. Letters from Iowa farm women appeared regularly in the *IFB Spokesman*, most often offering responses to articles regarding agricultural production and politics. See, for example, Mrs. L. Gustafson to editor, *IFB Spokesman* 22 (3/24/1956), 4; Mrs. Horace Thee to editor, *IFB Spokesman* 23 (10/13/1956), 4; *IFB Spokesman* 36 (5/30/1970), 4.

22. Meeting Minutes, October 1952–June 1953, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA.



After the Freedom Township Women's Club purchased the township school, several club meetings were devoted to renovating and decorating their new community center. Here, Roberta Hampson and Mae Place paint the ceiling. From Freedom Township Women's Club Records, Iowa Women's Archives.

When planning monthly meetings, most township clubs preferred inexpensive activities that required minimal planning and combined practical advice with opportunities for social interaction. That allowed club members to express personal preferences and desires to maintain a strong club, because women would only attend meetings that seemed relevant to their daily lives. Historian Mary Neth argued that Farm Bureaus in mid-western states tended to have "less active participation, less so-

cial attachment, and less commitment from farmers than other groups" and that membership did not necessarily imply a "full acceptance of [the Farm Bureau's] agricultural policies." Attendance records from the late 1950s and early 1960s support this conclusion and reveal that most women did not attend meetings on a regular basis. For example, between October 1959 and June 1960, of the 21 members listed on the roll for the Franklin Township Women's Club in O'Brien County, only one had perfect attendance; ten missed between three and five meetings, and seven missed more than six meetings. The women who tended to miss meetings, however, participated in major events such as potluck suppers, "Achievement Days," and community events. Franklin Township was not unique; similar patterns appeared consistently in membership rolls for several townships, suggesting that women's membership allowed them to remain connected to the local community and to friends rather than serving as an expression of loyalty to the IFBF.²³

IFBFWC LEADERS understood that local planning was essential to secure and keep members, but even with score sheets and clearly written handbooks, they could not control the activities and projects selected by township clubs. Deviations from state and even county plans were common and are evident in the 1959 state, county, and township handbooks used by the women of Freedom Township in Palo Alto County. The 1959 IFBFWC handbook outlined discussion subjects such as legislation, conservation and water rights, commodities, world trade, and marketing, and included an introduction from the state chairpersons that advised, "The finest program of work and the most comprehensive reference book are of no value unless they are used." In contrast, the Palo Alto County Farm Bureau Women's Committee provided handbooks to each township that only required clubs to hold meetings with informational sessions on

23. Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm*, 134–35; Membership Roll, October 1959 to June 1960, Franklin Township Women's Club Records, IWA. See also Secretary's Books and Membership Rolls, 1959–1970, Franklin Township Women's Clubs Records, IWA; Membership Roll, December 1959 to December 1960, Highland Do-Better Club Records, IWA; Membership Roll, December 1960 to December 1961, Sharon Township Women's Club Records, IWA.

nutrition, cooking methods, and first aid. Handwritten notes in the county handbook reveal that when the Freedom Township Women's Club held the meeting devoted to first aid, it entailed only a brief presentation. The meeting was actually an all-day event featuring a covered-dish luncheon with a plan to "do fancy work during the day." Plans for other meetings that year allowed for short presentations by the chairpersons elected to study various issues but typically focused more on social activities. Club members shared book reviews, remodeled their Township Hall, planned a township family picnic, hosted a Mother's Day Tea, held "Achievement Days" for boys' and girls' 4-H clubs, organized a family Christmas party, and studied such topics as table settings, gift wrapping, and "Iowa."²⁴

The women of Freedom Township demonstrated an awareness of the programs designed by the IFBFWC but deliberately chose not to follow them. In 1960, when the IFBFWC asked county and township women to study civil defense, the cover of the Palo Alto County handbooks featured a pencil sketch of a mushroom cloud, and the Freedom Township Women's Club organized a special civil defense committee. The committee could have easily followed the 12 monthly programs designed by the IFBFWC for local clubs, including "What is Civil Defense Mobilization?" and "What is radioactive fallout and how can we protect ourselves?" The IFBFWC also suggested that members take a Red Cross First Aid Training Course, learn about home fallout shelters, watch films on civil defense, study atomic science, and construct home first aid kits. The IFBFWC handbook provided lists of films and materials that women only needed to send for if they wanted to use them, so that participating in the program would not have incurred major expenses for any club. Yet, other than a short presentation by the club civil defense chairperson at one meeting, the women of Freedom Township had no programs that aligned with the goals of the IFBFWC. In addition to their annual social events, such as the family picnic, 4-H Achievement Day, and the Christmas party, they elected to

24. Iowa Farm Bureau Women's Program, 1, Scrapbook (1959), Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA; Palo Alto County Farm Bureau Women's Club Handbook, 1959, Scrapbooks (1959), Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA.



For the August 1962 meeting of the Freedom Township Women's Club, civil defense chairperson Minnie Frederick prepared a speech on "Fallout Protection." Note that Frederick was neatly dressed, and the meeting took place in a modern home, featuring the comforts of middle-class living. From Freedom Township Women's Club Records, Iowa Women's Archives.

study lessons titled "Ways with Cheese," "Understanding Our Children and Grandchildren," "How to Save Time in the Kitchen," "Laundry Problems," and "Landscaping your Home."²⁵

25. Palo Alto County Farm Bureau Women's Club Handbook, Scrapbook, 1960, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA.

Palo Alto County's remote location in north central Iowa, far from urban centers, might explain why the women of Freedom Township neglected to study civil defense, but so did the women in Scott County, where farm families lived in close proximity to the cities of Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island, Illinois. Members of the Cleona Township Women's Club in Scott County selected programs such as "Know your retail stores," "Better grooming," and "Figure flattery." They also sewed carpet squares for disabled children, hosted an organizational tea, and, in December, rather than taking a quiz on civil defense as suggested by state leaders, hosted a Christmas party. Only twice did they comply with the state programs: in May 1960 they took a tour of the nearby Rock Island Arsenal to view a mobile hospital, and in October they assembled home first aid kits. Otherwise, the Cleona Township women, like other women's clubs across the state, apparently had few reservations about selecting programs that differed significantly from those recommended by the IFBFWC.²⁶

The clubwomen's neglect of state programs did not necessarily represent expressions of resistance to Farm Bureau policies or a rejection of the IFBFWC. For example, the members of the Freedom Township Women's Club demonstrated loyalty to the IFBF in 1948 when they sponsored a year-long membership drive, selling new members on the benefits of Farm Bureau membership and nearly tripling their numbers from 44 to 119. Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, they also participated in the annual Rural Women's Day events by providing refreshments, music, entertainment, and informative displays. For several years, even when they did not follow state programs, the Freedom Township Women's Club won awards for its activities at Rural Women's Day, usually for its record of sending women to county leadership training workshops and the number of members elected to IFBF county leadership positions.²⁷

26. "1960 Annual Program," Scrapbook, 1960-1974, Cleona Township Women's Club Records, IWA. For more on Iowa communities' responses to civil defense programs sponsored by the Extension Service, see Jenny Barker Devine, "The Farmer and the Atom: The Iowa State Cooperative Extension Service and Rural Civil Defense, 1955-1970," *Annals of Iowa* 66 (2007), 161-94.

27. "Large Crowd of Palo Alto Farm Women at Annual Program Here," and "Freedom Wins Despite 'Atomic Bombs,'" unattributed news clippings in Scrapbook (1948), Freedom Township Women's Club, Records, IWA; "127 at County

If they disagreed with IFBF policies, or simply found their association to be of little value, women's clubs could end their relationship with the Farm Bureau and Extension and transform their group into one of the many informal women's clubs that existed in rural areas. The Cedar Valley Women's Club did just that in 1946, just one year after it celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and declared that it needed no outside help in planning programs. Although the Cedar Valley women did not explain their exact reasoning, they dropped all political discussions from their meetings and withdrew from county Farm Bureau activities. Instead, they discussed books, held contests, sang songs, played games, finished handiwork, and helped the hostess with household chores. The Cedar Valley Community Club continued these activities well into the 1990s, demonstrating that its members not only found value in the group but also had the leadership and organizational skills to maintain an effective club.²⁸

Women with no interest in Farm Bureau programs had a variety of options for community participation, including church groups, garden clubs, and other informal clubs. Typical of these informal clubs was the Friendly Neighbors Club, formed in September 1952 by 13 farm women near Deep River, Iowa. They elected officers, drew up bylaws, and decided on geographical boundaries to limit membership to local residents. Like clubs associated with the IFBFWC, the Friendly Neighbors Club held monthly meetings, followed parliamentary procedure, and collected 25-cent dues. The club provided service and support to members, particularly at times of birth, illness, or death. At its monthly all-day meetings, the women often helped the hostess with housework. They also held neighborhood events for entire families, with large Thanksgiving celebrations, welcome parties for new families, and going-away parties for those moving out of the area. The Friendly Neighbors Club performed some ser-

Rural Women's Day," "Mrs. Mavis Is Speaking at Rural Women's Meeting," and "Large Group Attends F. B. Women's Workshop," unattributed news clippings in Scrapbooks (1954-1956), Freedom Township Women's Club, Records, IWA.

28. Nell M. Forsyth, "Cedar Valley Club History" (June 1954), Cedar Valley Community Club Records, IWA; Meeting Minutes, 1942-1947, 1948-1959, *ibid.*; "History of the Cedar Valley Community Club, 75th Anniversary" (May 1995), *ibid.*



In May 1959 members of the Freedom Township Women's Club celebrated Mother's Day with a tea and a "Hat Parade." This reflects the humor and familiarity with which members of the Freedom Township Women's Club approached their activities. The invitation for the Mother-Daughter Tea read: "We urge all ladies in the twp to be present and bring as many daughters as you wish. If you have no daughter, perhaps you could borrow one for the evening." From Freedom Township Women's Club Records, Iowa Women's Archives.

vice projects but operated primarily as a social group. Not until January 1957 did the club include an educational component in its meetings. Members wrote to the federal government for information pertaining to civil defense and then used those materials to study the topic throughout the spring of that year. Yet educational activities were limited to the desires of the members,

and the meeting minutes did not indicate that any members made education or politics the focus of the club. Although the Friendly Neighbors Club, and others like it, served essentially the same social purpose as clubs associated with the IFBFWC, there were clear distinctions. Informal clubs did not provide the same opportunities for community service, nor did they provide members with the rhetoric of leaders who wanted women to take a more public role in civic activities.²⁹

THAT WOMEN in township Farm Bureau clubs selected different activities from those prescribed by state leaders was less a product of resistance and more a result of club members applying notions of social feminism in their own lives. Articles in the *Iowa Farm Bureau Spokesman*, speakers at Rural Women's Day, and materials produced through the IFBF and IFBFWC regularly affirmed this belief. Township clubs thrived throughout the 1950s and enjoyed growing or at least steady membership numbers. As local leaders took greater control over selecting and carrying out programs, they fulfilled the IFBFWC's mission to empower farm women and provide a setting in which adult education and women's activism could occur. By selecting activities applicable to their daily responsibilities and valued within their communities, local members believed that their clubs advanced standards of living in the countryside and made important contributions to the overall mission of the IFBF. In the immediate postwar period, between 1945 and the early 1960s, the IFBFWC's decision to focus on developing local leadership proved an effective strategy for addressing the changing needs of farm women.

Over a longer term, however, developing local leadership could not entirely hedge social and demographic changes that altered women's expectations and rural life. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, membership in township women's clubs declined sharply because of rural depopulation and changing roles for women. The rhetoric of social feminisms used by the IFBFWC and township clubwomen was pervasive but restric-

29. Meeting Minutes, 1952-1953, Friendly Neighbors Club, Deep River, Iowa, Records, IWA; Scrapbook, 1952-1963, *ibid.*

tive. By the mid-1960s, social feminisms continued to inform IFBFWC leaders but began to lose their resonance with farm women who enjoyed broader options for social, political, and wage-earning activities. According to political scientist Louise I. Carbert, domestic and maternal discourses only “justified women’s political activity outside of private households in terms of their familial responsibilities” but exuded little authority “with policy analysts, administrators, or agronomists.” For women with interests in agricultural production and policy, then, by the mid-1960s activism meant becoming involved in the IFBF alongside men either as “young marrieds” or on IFBF committees. Throughout the 1960s, the Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women’s Committee strongly encouraged women to take on leadership roles within the county Farm Bureau. Far from serving in token positions, by 1969, 62 women served on nearly every Mahaska County Farm Bureau committee, including those that handled the budget, formulated policy resolutions for the state organization, and managed local affairs. Women also served on the committees for young members, legislative action, farm agreements, and health care.³⁰

This is not to say that women abandoned county and township clubs in favor of the IFBF, only that they were no longer compelled to confine their political activities to separate, all-female groups. As they found new outlets for activism and relied less on social feminisms to justify their participation, township women’s clubs focused even more on home economics and social events. In 1971 Anita Crawford, a longtime member of the Westburg Township Women’s Club and chair of the Buchanan County Farm Bureau Women’s Committee, was selected to serve on the Buchanan County Farm Bureau Legislative Committee. She had served as legislative chairperson for her township club since 1965; having been a Farm Bureau member since the 1930s, she brought considerable experience to the position. At the time of her appointment, she received a letter from County Farm Bureau Chairperson Wayne L. Natvig regarding her new responsibilities for formulating county and state reso-

30. Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism*, 29; Josephine Van Zomeren, “Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women: A History” (December 1971), 112–17, Mahaska County Farm Bureau Women’s Clubs Records, IWA.

lutions. His letter made no reference to her gender. She was expected to read significant amounts of material pertaining to agricultural policy and travel to district meetings. Throughout her tenure as chairperson of the Legislative Committee, however, Crawford remained active in the kind of women's activities that were typical of township and county women's clubs. As chairperson of the Buchanan County Farm Bureau Women's Committee, she asked township leaders to hold programs about agricultural commodities and environmental hazards, including pesticides, nitrates, and clean-up methods. Crawford read widely, often wrote to legislators, and collected large amounts of information on marketing, property taxes, and pending legislation. She attended annual IFBFWC conferences and was very familiar with IFBFWC programs, but she still spent much of her time as county chairperson planning social events such as Rural Women's Day and a Rural-Urban women's tea.³¹

Membership rolls of clubs that remained intact throughout this period, including the Highland Do-Better Club in O'Brien County and Sharon Township Women's Club in Johnson County, illustrate that as older members left the club, younger women interested in homemaking, crafts, and learning the home production skills of the previous generation often replaced them. Yet the number of young women was not large enough to replace those older members who had left, and like township clubwomen of the immediate postwar period, few of these younger women sought outlets for becoming agricultural activists. Many worked off the farm or were involved on other IFBF committees or in other farm organizations. They primarily desired a group where they could develop and celebrate their identities as farm wives. Overall, clubs affiliated with general farm organizations, such as the Farm Bureau, remained popular among rural residents across the United States. A 1980 survey of American farm women revealed that 74 percent were involved in some type of farm or community organization, and 41 percent of those were involved in a general farm organization such as the Farm Bureau or a women's auxiliary of a general farm

31. Wayne L. Natvig to Anita Crawford, 12/3/1970, and Art Kitner to Anita Crawford, 2/6/1967, Anita Crawford Papers, IWA; IFBFWC Annual Conference Programs, 1969–1974, *ibid.*; Meeting Notes, 1969–1971, *ibid.*

organization. The survey revealed that age, farm employment, and political affiliation proved negligible in identifying who participated in farm organizations; the extent of an individual woman's involvement depended primarily on her connection to the family farm, whether she shared ownership in the farming operation, her level of education, and the availability of economic resources. For younger women then, participating in a Farm Bureau women's club was more likely an indicator of social status and leisure time than it had been for the previous generation.³²

More so than changing ideologies, depopulation proved to be a key factor in the decline of township women's clubs. Political scientist Louise Carbert found that by the late 1960s declining membership in Canadian farm women's organizations was "attributable to the depopulation of farming and rural communities" rather than continued use of social feminism or outdated agendas. The IFBFWC tried to keep Farm Bureau women in step with changing times by addressing issues such as women's health and by providing material on economic change, marketing, and agriculture that encouraged women to become more involved with the business of farming. As the rural population declined and aged, recruiting new members became difficult because there were simply fewer women who could join. In sparsely populated Palo Alto County, between 1950 and 1970, the total population fell from 15,891 to 13,289, while the number of farms declined from 1,808 to 1,186, with much of the depopulation occurring after 1960. Those who remained tended to be older, established farmers. Citing these conditions, the increasing age of its members, and its inability to attract new members, the Freedom Township Women's Club decreased its involvement with the county Farm Bureau and, after 1962, no longer participated in Rural Women's Day. It remained active by maintaining the Freedom Township Hall, purchased by the club in 1953, and

32. Membership Rolls, Highland Do-Better Club, 1960–1984, Highland Do-Better Club Records, IWA; Membership Rolls, 1961, 1970, 1980, 1983–1984, Sharon Township Women's Club Records, IWA; Jenny Barker-Devine, "'Our Cherished Ideals': Rural Women, Activism, and Identity in the Midwest, 1950–1990" (Ph.D. diss., Iowa State University, 2008), 186–90; Rachel Ann Rosenfeld, *Farm Women: Work, Farm, and Family in the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), 198–215.

continued to invite speakers from the local area, complete craft projects, and even assembled "ditty bags" for servicemen in Vietnam. Yet the club's meetings lost much of the formality that characterized club functions prior to 1960 and by the early 1970s more closely resembled gatherings for old friends. The women of Freedom Township were not alone, as other clubs across the state made similar decisions over the next three decades.³³

AFTER 1945, members of both the IFBFWC and township Farm Bureau women's clubs sought to refine the roles of women as farm wives and as members of a greater organization. In order to cope with changes in the countryside, such as depopulation, the introduction of new agricultural and household technologies, and the separation of the IFBF and the Extension Service, the IFBFWC and members of township clubs agreed that greater local control allowed women to develop leadership skills and educational programs that best suited their needs and interests. Since the 1920s, the IFBFWC had politicized farm women's work and encouraged Iowa farm women to work for higher standards of living by participating in local clubs. State leaders repeatedly identified township clubs as the foundation of the state organization, and by the 1950s seasoned clubwomen demonstrated that they had received this message. At the township and county level they easily conducted meetings and carried out projects that they believed to be within the mission of the IFBF without direct assistance from home demonstration agents or IFBFWC leaders.

In the immediate postwar period, the IFBFWC insisted that Iowa farm women devote meetings to political and agricultural issues at the national and international levels, but the great majority of members in local clubs did not share that enthusiasm. Township clubwomen's preferences for social and practical ac-

33. Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism*, 17; Barker-Devine, "Our Cherished Ideals," 186–88; Richard L. Forstall, ed., "Iowa," *Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900 to 1990* (Washington, DC, 1995), accessed 7/6/2009 at www.census.gov/population/cencounts/ia190090.txt; *51st Annual Iowa Year Book of Agriculture* (Des Moines, 1950), 549; *Iowa Book of Agriculture*, Fifth Biennial Report (Des Moines, 1961), 330; *Iowa Book of Agriculture*, Tenth Biennial Report (Des Moines, 1971), 345; Scrapbooks, 1969–1970, Freedom Township Women's Club Records, IWA.

tivities reveal that they critically interpreted the rhetoric and plans of state leaders and practiced selectivity when creating unique projects and annual programs. Social feminisms, shaped by domestic and maternal discourses, resonated with farm women in the postwar period because, although they understood the vital nature of their work for their families, their farms, and their communities, farm women also lived with the reality that women's voices carried little authority in predominately male agricultural organizations and political circles. And although the IFBFWC assured them that political and international concerns could exist within the domestic realm, most women did not find these issues to be particularly relevant to their daily lives.

State leaders and local members may have disagreed on appropriate programming for club meetings, but for a time, between 1945 and the early 1960s, the development of local leadership appeared to foster the growth of county and township women's clubs. Offering township clubs greater freedom to operate independently enabled the IFBFWC to successfully weather the loss of the Extension Service, which had been so instrumental in supporting women's activities, and to develop new programs for women of varied ages. Ultimately, this growth proved unsustainable, and membership numbers declined throughout the 1960s and 1970s. That was not because of the programs selected by township clubs, nor did it occur as part of a greater rebellion against the IFBF, the IFBFWC, or the social feminisms these organizations espoused. Rather, it was a result of rural depopulation and the emergence of new political outlets for women. The postwar period was a pivotal moment in rural women's activism in Iowa, as women took greater ownership of their clubs and selected activities that they believed would attract the most members. They did not necessarily find political outlets in Farm Bureau clubs, but they did find support, information, and friendships that enabled them to embrace higher standards of living and new technologies while keeping some semblance of the neighborhoods and informal networks that were quickly disappearing in an era of modernization.

Book Reviews and Notices

Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World, edited by Susan Sleeper-Smith. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. lxii, 638 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, index. \$40.00 paper.

Reviewer Claiborne A. Skinner is an instructor at the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy in Aurora, Illinois. He is the author of *The Upper Country: French Enterprise in the Colonial Great Lakes* (2008).

The written history of Iowa begins in the late seventeenth century with the arrival of Frenchmen pursuing souls and beavers. Its name is derived from *loway*, the French word for the Bah-kho-je Indians. Its capital, Des Moines, is also from the French, though just what it means is disputed. The town of Decorah is named for the descendants of one Sabrevoir de Carrie. Arguably, the largest battle in the state's history was fought between the French and the allied Sauk and Meskwaki on the Des Moines River in 1735. Fort Marin, built in 1739 near McGregor, was the first European outpost in the state, and Julien Dubuque is revered as its first settler.

The engine behind all of this was the fur trade, a vast, complex, too often misunderstood commerce that drew Europeans deep into the interior of the continent, enmeshed its native peoples in the global economy, and helped trigger almost 125 years of imperial war for possession of America. Susan Sleeper-Smith has done this important subject a considerable service with *Rethinking the Fur Trade*. In a massive, elegantly appointed anthology, she has provided graduate students with a comprehensive summary of modern scholarship in the field, instructors with a sophisticated and variegated classroom tool, and scholars with an invaluable historiographical reference.

The geographical and chronological breadth of the book is notable by itself. It begins with the early contact period in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, proceeds westward to the American Fur Company, the last "rendezvous," and concludes in Alaska at the end of the nineteenth century, a journey of more than 3,000 miles and nearly 300 years. This approach stands in marked contrast to most collections, which tend to focus on a period or region.

Sleeper-Smith organizes her material into themes that run through the vast sweep of the trade. She begins with a thoughtful essay, "Cul-

tures of Exchange in a North Atlantic World," which summarizes current scholarship. Part two, "Indian Voices," provides a mix of primary accounts by Claude Allouez and Chrétien Le Clerque and articles by Bruce J. Bourque, Ruth H. Whitehead, and D. Peter MacLeod correcting the traditional portrait of Indians as passive "victims" of the fur trade. That section concludes with a sharply drawn essay by Donald F. Bibeau on white historians writing Indian history. Part three, "The Social and Political Significance of Change," presents work by D. W. Moodie, Bruce M. White, Mary Black-Rogers, James L. Clayton, Gail D. MacLeitch, W. J. Eccles, and Richard White that describes the trade as a dynamic political and social process in which both whites and Indians evolved new economic and diplomatic structures in response to one another. Part four, "The Cloth Trade," includes essays by Arthur J. Ray, Timothy J. Shannon, Dean Anderson, Gail DeBuse Potter, Allen Chronister, and James A. Hanson challenging older assumptions about the products exchanged in the trade. These pieces also make clear that Indians knew what they wanted; they had a clear sense of quality and little use for shoddy. Part five, "Gender, Kinship, and Community," provides work by the editor, Sylvia Van Kirk, Jennifer S. H. Brown, Jacqueline Petersen, Helen Hornbeck Tanner, and Carolyn Podruchny questioning traditional portraits of the trade as a uniquely masculine profession and presenting compelling arguments that women performed important roles in the commerce and in the communities that arose to support it.

All told, *Rethinking the Fur Trade* is a remarkably comprehensive collection of important modern work. I found only one notable omission. The ghost of Harold Adams Innis clearly walks abroad in much of the material presented here. His *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* is both cited and challenged, particularly in the section on the cloth trade. Given the extent to which his 80-year-old book continues to inform the debate, I wished that Sleeper-Smith had included some of the literature on its strengths and weaknesses, particularly W. J. Eccles, "A Belated Review of Harold Adams Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*," *Canadian Historical Review* 60 (1979), 419–41; and Hugh Grant, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Innis, Eccles, and the Canadian Fur Trade," *Canadian Historical Review* 62 (1981), 304–29. This is, however, a quibble. *Rethinking the Fur Trade* is an invaluable book that has already rescued me from at least two historiographical gaffes in my own research; insights I had thought new and clever turned out to be rather less so. I suspect I will not be alone.

Uncommon Defense: Indian Allies in the Black Hawk War, by John W. Hall. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. ix, 367 pp. Maps, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewer John P. Bowes is assistant professor of history at Eastern Kentucky University. He is the author of *Black Hawk and the War of 1832: Removal in the North* (2007); and *Exiles and Pioneers: Eastern Indians in the Trans-Mississippi West* (2007).

The Black Hawk War has received an inordinate amount of attention over the years, most recently in *Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America*, by Kerry A. Trask (2006) and *The Black Hawk War of 1832*, by Patrick J. Jung (2007). Yet not until *Uncommon Defense* by John W. Hall has anyone closely examined the decisions made by the Menominees, Dakotas, Ho Chunks, and Potawatomis who allied with the forces of the United States in that conflict. In what is an accessible and enlightening study, Hall asserts that those Indian allies “were the true architects of an alliance that served their own ends first and always” (10).

Hall begins his examination with a chapter titled “Roots of Conflict,” where readers immediately confront one of this book’s assets. A sentence early in the chapter sums it up best. “The American narrative of the Black Hawk War may begin in 1804,” Hall writes, “but the Indian story begins much earlier” (15). In other words, scholars have most often referred to the treaty of 1804 between the Sauks and the United States as the initial event underlying the actions of Black Hawk and other Sauks in the summer of 1832. But that agreement obtained by fraudulent means did not influence the actions of other Indians in the region. Instead, the relationship between the Sauks and their Indian neighbors existed within a much longer and broader history. Therefore, the decisions made by bands of Menominees and others to ally with the United States need to be assessed according to their past histories with both the Sauks and the French and British colonial powers. This foundational point prepares readers for a new perspective on the Black Hawk War. Unfortunately, only that first chapter delves into events before 1804.

After this brief foray into the eighteenth century, Hall spends the better part of the next two chapters analyzing the Indian perspective on American policies and activity in the late 1810s and 1820s. Indians first sought to establish relations with the United States based on colonial-era diplomacy. By the end of the 1820s, however, the Indians had no illusions about the attitudes of American agents and citizens. Incidents such as the Ho Chunk uprising in the lead mining region of southern Wisconsin in 1827 demonstrated hostility against the encroachment of American settlers. But the federal government’s re-

sponse made it clear that the United States would ultimately favor its citizens over Indians.

Nevertheless, for the Dakotas and Menominees in particular, their battle with the Sauks and Meskwakis over the Des Moines Valley remained more important than the movement of Americans into the territories east of the Mississippi River. Hall contends that Menominee and Dakota participation in the Black Hawk War had nothing to do with Black Hawk and everything to do with "the enduring intertribal contest for control of hunting grounds in the Upper Mississippi watershed" (100). This claim is critical to understanding Hall's book. It is also the perspective that sets his study apart from other scholarship on the Black Hawk War.

Beginning with the fourth chapter, Hall revisits familiar episodes from the early 1830s and sets them within a framework of inter-Indian diplomacy and conflict. Much to his credit, he avoids the pitfall of indiscriminately grouping Indian nations and their motivations. Indeed, he capably illustrates that distinct bands of Ho Chunks and Potawatomis responded to the actions of the Sauks and Americans based on location, kinship ties, and past experience. Residents of the Ho Chunk village at Prairie La Crosse, for instance, had to assess the relative importance of village interests and family bonds. In the end, while Win-neshiek, a principal headman, advocated neutrality, other villagers allied with the United States. Such analysis further enhances the focus in *Uncommon Defense* on the local nature of Indian decision making.

In the epilogue Hall notes that the decisions made by Menominees, Dakotas, Potawatomis, and Ho Chunks did not necessarily affect their ability to avoid the widespread removals that followed the conclusion of the conflict. While they took action based on their particular interests, they could not ignore the movement of American settlers and governance into the region. Nevertheless, understanding the reasons behind their decisions adds greatly to our understanding of the larger context of the Black Hawk War. Hall has taken what is too often viewed as the last gasp of northern Indians against the United States and placed it within an Indian framework. Although his argument would have been better served by a more detailed assessment of the pre-1804 history and more information on the first two decades of the nineteenth century, that critique does not diminish what is a very important contribution to the study of the Black Hawk War.

The Iowa Review, volume 39, number 2 (Fall 2009). 255 pp. Illustrations. \$9.95 paper.

Reviewer Patrick Nunnally is program coordinator in the Institute on the Environment, University of Minnesota, where his River Life program collects and disseminates data on rivers, including the stories that surround them.

As might be expected from *The Iowa Review*, this special issue on Iowa's rivers is an extraordinary collection of writing. The rich array of voices gathered here and expressed as poems, essays, short fiction, memoir, and photographs is an appropriate response to the richness that rivers offer to our cultural identity and daily lives in the upper Midwest. When Wallace Stegner, an alumnus of the University of Iowa, wrote about "the humid east," he was often referring to the Iowa of his birth and early childhood. And the upper Midwest *is* humid and well watered, certainly by comparison to Stegner's beloved American West. Anyone wanting to understand the human settlement of the region now recognized as the Midwest would do well to start with understanding the rivers that flow through the landscape.

This volume provides an excellent introduction to the human dimensions of those rivers. Cornelia F. Mutel explores the complex connections between landscape, agriculture, river floods, and the restorative work that is taking place at locations such as the Whiterock Conservancy. Laura Sayre, Bradley Cook, and Dianna Penny offer quite different but equally compelling accounts of growing up where rivers ran through their lives. For other writers, such as Nate McKeen and E. Keene, rivers have been the location for more intensely dramatic though short-term experiences.

Some of the essays collected here develop richly multidimensional understandings of how a river literally and figuratively flows through the region's history. Robert F. Sayre's study of the Iowa River and Laura Rigal's examination of the place rivers had in the white settlement of eastern Iowa both point to the places where history, geography, natural history, and natural science meet. Both demonstrate that the study of rivers cannot be confined simply to one department at a university or one kind of intellectual discipline.

The work collected here speaks to the history of the region in two distinct ways. On one hand, several of these essays shed new light on the past of this place, using the geographical and metaphorical facts of flowing waters as their avenues for understanding how the place has emerged through time. Other pieces, reflections on the 2008 flooding across the state, for example, provide vivid and specific reflections on the immediate impact of rivers on people's lives. These writings offer

insights for historians in the future who will be writing about the longer term impacts of those events.

An important aspect of most of these essays is their accessibility. Readers don't need to be thoroughly versed in the biochemistry of water to understand points made about pollution; nor do they have to be hydrologists to understand the impact of flooding rivers. Given the importance of rivers in our lives — as sources of drinking water, as essential components of industrial processes, as the center of greenway corridors that provide respite and rejuvenation for our spirits — it is vital that we hear these voices and understand their insights.

Historic Photos of Steamboats on the Mississippi, by Dean M. Shapiro. Nashville: Turner Publishing Co., 2009. Photographs, notes on the photographs, glossary of steamboat terms, bibliography. x, 206 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer William E. Lass is professor emeritus of history, Minnesota State University, Mankato. He is the author, most recently, of *Navigating the Missouri: Steamboating on Nature's Highway, 1819–1935* (2008).

Historic Photos of Steamboats on the Mississippi includes 197 black-and-white photographs of steamboats on the Mississippi River and its major tributaries. Many of the photographs include vivid images of river towns, rural landings, passengers, crew members, and scenery. Each photo is attractively presented on a 10" x 10" page.

Photographs are an important source of information about steamboats. Unfortunately, photography did not become popular until after steamboating peaked in the 1850s. Consequently, most steamboat photos, including those in this book, portray a declining activity.

Anyone interested in steamboats, which have a rich tradition in Iowa history, should enjoy these photographs. But those concerned about accurate history of steamboating would be well advised to ignore the one-page chapter introductions. Shapiro, perhaps because he was so smitten with the romance of steamboating, did not systematically research steamboating as a business. Consequently, he makes such colossal errors as placing the "Golden Age" of steamboating near the end of the nineteenth century and grossly understating the impact of railroads by the time of the Civil War. Such books as Mildred L. Hartsough's *From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi* (1934) and William J. Petersen's *Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi* (1937) would have provided a proper historical perspective. But Shapiro apparently did not use them.

The Passing of the Prairie by a Fossil: Biographical Sketches of Central Iowa Pioneers and Civil War Veterans, by Nehemias Tjernagel; edited by Margaret Harstad Matzke with an introduction by Peter Tjernagel Harstad. LaVerne, TN: Author House in cooperation with the Story City Historical Society, 2009. xix, 248 pp. Illustrations, appendix, index. \$18.00 cloth, \$12.00 paper.

Reviewer Lori Ann Lahlum is associate professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. She is the author of "'Everything Was Changed and Looked Strange': Norwegian Women in South Dakota" in *South Dakota History* (2005).

In the early twentieth century, Nehemias Tjernagel, the son of Norwegian immigrants, began collecting stories about the early pioneers (many of them Norwegians) who settled in Iowa's Hamilton and Story counties before 1865. These settlers, according to Tjernagel, quickly transitioned from poor immigrants to successful Americans. To tell their stories, Tjernagel wrote biographical sketches. In the sketches, Tjernagel documents the transition of frontier Iowa to settled place. He places a premium on interesting stories, especially those involving American Indians. He also sought out Union veterans of the Civil War, and some engaging Civil War stories are included. The appendix of pioneers and Civil War soldiers is especially useful. Written in Norwegian and translated by a number of people, the book remained unpublished at the time of Tjernagel's death in 1958. A copy of the original manuscript is at the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City.

People interested in Iowa history will find *The Passing of the Prairie* an interesting read. It may be most useful to genealogists because Tjernagel details family connections and provides information on settlers' backgrounds. In the introduction, Peter Tjernagel Harstad teases out "three major themes — immigration, pioneering, and preservation of the Union" (xv). He also notes that although the biographies appear to be about men, Tjernagel did not ignore the role of women. In many of the biographies, however, women exist largely as married to or the daughters of the men profiled. The last section, "Pioneer Pictures," provides an interesting discussion of "the role of women" in the Euro-American settling of Iowa.

Race and Radicalism in the Union Army, by Mark A. Lause. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009. vii, 208 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Terry L. Beckenbaugh is assistant professor of military history at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

His dissertation (University of Arkansas, 2001) was "The War of Politics: Samuel Ryan Curtis, Race, and the Political/Military Establishment."

The historiography of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi is littered with yawning gaps. Mark Lause's *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* fills a large historiographical gap of not only the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi but in Civil War studies in general.

Lause focuses on the cadre of radicals who sided with John Brown in the Bleeding Kansas period and follows them through the Civil War and postbellum periods. During Bleeding Kansas the federal government hunted many of these radicals but increasingly turned to them as allies as the war against the Confederacy grew more desperate and the eastern and western theaters required more of the Union's ever shrinking resources. That participation as soldiers came at a cost as the radicals attempted to implement their vision of a triracial society in which all people on the western frontier would be treated as equals. The story of how that attempt at a radical society failed a hundred years before it was accepted by the rest of white America forms the narrative of *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army*.

Lause concludes that Lost Cause adherents used historical jujitsu to argue that the Confederacy was an inclusive entity. Lost Cause historiography maintained that Rebel Indians such as Stand Watie and John Jumper were the "real 'rebels,' fighting the injustices of the white power structure alongside Douglas Cooper, Jefferson Davis, and others" (131). Lause walks a tightrope here because he admits that the Federals treated Indians unjustly during and after the Civil War. Yet the U.S. government's poor treatment of Indians does not mean that the Confederacy was automatically sympathetic to their plight. Lause convincingly argues that the Confederacy was not an inclusive entity and that "mythologies about the Indians became integrated into the Lost Cause long before those about 'black Confederates'" (131). In this sense, *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* joins Bruce Levine's *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm the Slaves during the Civil War* (2007) as a significant historiographical work in debunking neo-Confederate myths about the alleged inclusiveness of the Confederacy.

Perhaps the single biggest problem with *Race and Radicalism in the Union Army* is its misleading title, which the author may not have chosen. Readers expecting an analysis of race and radicalism in the *entire* Federal Army will be surprised to find that Lause focuses on the Federal Army of the Frontier, which in the grand scheme of things is a small force in a tangential theater of conflict. There were radicals who fought in the western theater as well as the eastern theater. The title should have reflected the narrower focus of the study.

Nonetheless, *Race and Radicalism* fills a large historiographical gap in its examination of race and radicalism in the Federal military in the Trans-Mississippi. It does not focus on Iowa, but prominent Iowa figures are mentioned: Major General Samuel Ryan Curtis of Keokuk is the most noteworthy of these. Lause's examination of American Indians and how they, the radicals, and African Americans attempted to fulfill a revolutionary vision of what America could be is a significant addition to Civil War studies.

The Shiloh Campaign, edited by Steven E. Woodworth. Civil War Campaigns in the Heartland Series. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009. vii, 167 pp. Maps, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth.

Reviewer Brian K. McCutchen began his National Park Service career at Shiloh and served as a senior historian for the agency for several years. He presently serves as National Park superintendent of the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park in southwestern Indiana.

Early April of 1862 erupted in "Armageddon" for an inconspicuous area surrounding a Methodist chapel in southern Tennessee. The engagement introduced new realities in the mindset of Americans regarding battle size and an unprecedented casualty count from American combat; many Americans came to associate the biblical word *Shiloh* with tragedy and sacrifice. Long-held legends of the battle — many almost a century-and-a-half old — leave the story wide open for reanalysis and fresh interpretation for scholars of the engagement. Taking advantage of such opportunity, historian Steven Woodworth provides eight well-presented essays addressing various battle-specific topics.

Each chapter is well constructed, providing background and setting in introducing each topic. Aside from a few minor inaccuracies in detail, the presentations are thorough, and analyses that stray from the traditional Shiloh story are thought provoking and well supported. In the first essay John Lundberg examines the actions and mindset of Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston in the months leading up to his surprise attack on Grant's Army of the Tennessee and his subsequent death on the field. Alexander Mendoza provides a detailed, albeit sometimes difficult to follow, analysis of the Union's isolated, far right flank. Former Shiloh staff ranger/historian Timothy B. Smith successfully challenges the legend of the "Hornet's Nest," presenting an interpretation that counters what has been Shiloh staple for 148 years. Editor Steven Woodworth addresses General Lew Wallace's long, wandering approach to the battle and the possible reasoning behind it. Gary Joiner discusses the importance of the two supporting

Union gunboats firing from the Tennessee River, creating havoc for Confederates attacking the Union left. The late Grady McWhiney's essay supports the long-held interpretation that Confederate General Beauregard would have won the battle had he not halted fighting to reorder his forces on the evening of the battle's first day. Charles Gear's well-presented chapter examines the battle from the personal perspective of ordinary Confederate participants and describes how the years following the battle changed perceptions. Brooks Simpson concludes the volume by evaluating how the battle influenced the relationship between Generals Grant and Sherman, two of the nineteenth century's most renowned leaders, in the subsequent years.

Despite the quality of the topics covered, this collection is not meant to offer comprehensive coverage of the battle. Those less familiar with what Grant regarded as one of the most complicated and misunderstood battles of the war may be better served to begin with works such as *Shiloh and the Western Campaign of 1862*, edited by Timothy Smith and Gary Joiner; *Shiloh: The Battle That Changed the Civil War*, by Larry Daniel; or *Shiloh — Bloody April*, by Wiley Sword. Those deeply versed in understanding the complex engagement, however, will find *The Shiloh Campaign* a well-presented complement to their understanding of the battle.

Fields of Blood: The Prairie Grove Campaign, by William L. Shea. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. x, 358 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Richard F. Kehrberg lives in Ames, Iowa. His research and writing have focused on U.S. military history.

On December 7, 1862, Union and Confederate forces fought a small but bloody battle on a wooded ridge in northwest Arkansas called Prairie Grove. The battle marked the culmination of a remarkable campaign, all the more remarkable since the Confederate cause in the Trans-Mississippi Theater seemed irrevocably lost in the spring of 1862. After the Battle of Pea Ridge in March, Union forces operated with impunity in the state's northern counties as the rest of Arkansas tottered on the brink of anarchy. Confederate fortunes rebounded dramatically, however, with the arrival of Thomas C. Hindman on May 31. Through a combination of administrative acumen, boundless energy, and ruthlessness, Hindman restored order in the troubled state and re-established a Confederate military presence north of the Arkansas River by August.

Hindman was anxious to do more than restore order and rebuild an army. He wanted to march into Missouri. Not only would a Confederate force in southwest Missouri gall the Federals and threaten Kansas, but it would also allow the Confederates to exploit the human and material resources of a new region and shield Arkansas and the Indian Territory from the Union Army. Hindman's Confederates marched north in early September, but after several frustrating weeks of marching, countermarching, and skirmishing, they found themselves back where they had started in early November. While sorting out the wreckage of his failed campaign, Hindman discerned an opportunity. The Union force facing Hindman consisted of three small divisions, one under Brigadier General James G. Blunt, a Kansas physician turned soldier, and two under Brigadier General Francis J. Herron, a former banker from Dubuque. Upon learning that the two Union forces were separated by some 120 miles, Hindman settled on an audacious plan to strike Blunt's exposed division. Hindman pushed his tired, ragged army north, but not fast enough. Blunt learned of Hindman's advance and called on Herron for aid. Herron responded by rapidly moving his men south, marching an average of 30 miles per day. Convinced that Hindman would strike Blunt first, Herron was surprised when his force stumbled onto the Confederates at Prairie Grove.

Hindman, who had planned to be the attacker, assumed a defensive position on the wooded slopes of Prairie Grove. Herron underestimated the force opposing him and launched an immediate attack. That action began a series of attacks and counterattacks that stretched over the course of the day without producing any lasting results. In the late afternoon, Blunt's division appeared on the field but could not dislodge the Confederates either. Neither side gained a significant advantage during the day's fighting, but after nightfall Hindman decided to retire his battered army and retreat. The Confederacy in the Trans-Mississippi Theater never recovered from Prairie Grove. Never again would the Confederacy seriously attempt to regain Missouri or threaten Kansas.

Fields of Blood presents a thoroughly researched and engagingly written narrative of the Prairie Grove campaign. William Shea's ability to illuminate the interconnections among strategy, logistics, and geography is especially noteworthy. Students of Iowa's Civil War contribution will find a good deal of interest in this volume. Both of Herron's divisions contained Iowa regiments, and their voices form an important part of Shea's story. They also performed important roles in the battle. The Nineteenth Iowa Infantry, for example, played a conspicuous part in Herron's first assault on Prairie Grove and suffered an ap-

palling 55 percent casualty rate as a result — the highest of any regiment in the battle. *Fields of Blood* is an excellent study of an important but often overlooked campaign and is a welcome addition to the literature on the Trans-Mississippi Theater.

The American Military Frontiers: The United States Army in the West, 1783–1900, by Robert Wooster. Histories of the American Frontier. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. xvi, 361 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewer J. Thomas Murphy is associate professor of history at Bemidji State University. His dissertation (University of Illinois, 1993) was "Pistols Legacy: Sutlers, Post Traders, and the American Army, 1820–1895."

During congressional debates to determine army appropriations in 1878, Montana's territorial delegate, Martin Maginnis, spoke favorably of the U.S. Army's contribution in advancing the nation westward, while U.S. Representative Auburn L. Pridemore of Virginia thought otherwise. "It has been the tiller of the soil," countered the former Confederate soldier, "who stood with loaded gun in his own field who has made his way through the savage land" (274). Pridemore's argument bore the memory of a Yankee army ruling over the South during Reconstruction, but it reflected other long-standing values: the Revolutionary generation's discomfort with maintaining a large standing army, the Jacksonian desire for a limited government, and the American belief in self-reliance and individual opportunity. Such ideas minimized a federal role, and the dispute appeared time and again, yet as Robert Wooster makes clear, the army became the "government's most visible agent of empire" (xii). Militias and state-sponsored volunteers contributed to American expansion, fighting at Tippecanoe with William Henry Harrison in 1811 and following Alexander Doniphan into Mexico in 1847, but despite a parsimonious Congress and a tradition limiting the army's numbers, primary responsibility fell to regulars led by officers trained at West Point.

This imperial thesis is hardly new, having been established a generation ago by Robert G. Athearn, Francis Paul Prucha, and Robert Utley, but recent historians have continued to refine it, and this volume employs a remarkable depth of scholarship and primary sources to describe the army's role from the earliest days of the nation to the end of the nineteenth century. During that time, soldiers explored and mapped the West, built forts and roads, protected the borders and "participated in over eleven hundred combat operations against Indians" (273).

Wooster begins with the push to secure the Ohio Valley from the Miami. His narrative tracks the principal Indian wars that followed, but this is not a simple rehash of battles lost and won. Instead, Wooster tells a wider story of political squabbles, economic opportunity, institutional reforms, and policies that left the army and its officer corps whipsawed by public expectations. In 1836 Brevet Major General Edmund P. Gaines, an expansionist and as ethnocentric as anyone on the frontier, disagreed with the decision "to break up the Indians, take their lands and throw together twenty tribes speaking different languages." He preferred to treat them humanely. "Otherwise we *must annihilate* them. This we cannot do without forgetting what is due to our own interests, and our own self-respect" (63–64). The popular insistence on Indian defeat and displacement caused the army to keep nearly one-third of its forces in Florida fighting Seminoles during the period 1821–1835, and it encouraged a series of shameful depredations in the post–Civil War West. After troops under Major Eugene M. Baker attacked a friendly Piegan village and killed a large number of women and children in 1870, the reformer Wendell Phillips derided Baker along with Generals Philip H. Sheridan and George A. Custer as the true "savages upon the Plains" (209).

A military presence anywhere on the frontier guaranteed an influx of capital because the army needed supplies for its soldiers, forage for its horses, and a civilian work force to be construction laborers, teamsters, and woodcutters. This financial relationship engendered regional development, a persistent theme among imperial historians, and Wooster recognizes its importance for understanding the army's ultimate contribution. J. M. D. Burrows, a merchant in Davenport, Iowa, began supplying Fort Crawford in 1841. "I always considered this as the best and most successful operation I ever undertook," he remembered, "and it benefited Scott County as much as it did me, as the money I obtained was scattered all over the county paying for produce" (72). Fifty years later, editors of the *San Antonio Express* welcomed "over a million dollars annually" from troops in its city (271).

Wooster's study covers a lot of ground, and while his text can seem overstuffed, it is readable, thoughtful, and informative. He includes an extensive bibliography, thorough notes, and seven maps that help readers follow his discussion. Overall, this is a fine work; anyone interested in the military in the American West can either build a sizable library or simply read this book.

Here You Have My Story: Eyewitness Accounts of the Nineteenth-Century Central Plains, edited by Richard E. Jensen. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xi, 387 pp. Tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 paper.

Reviewer Michael L. Tate is professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. He is the author of *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails* (2006).

Richard Jensen has assembled 23 reminiscences by as many authors to recreate a sense of what life was like in Nebraska and surrounding states during the nineteenth century. These were selected from a larger slate of articles that originally appeared in the Nebraska State Historical Society's *Proceedings and Transactions and Reports* between 1885 and 1919. The selections are organized in four topical categories — Indian Country, Military Campaigns and Army Life, Overland Freighting, and White Settlement — and are reprinted in their entirety.

The editor has chosen wisely from the larger selection of articles that were available to him, but he cautions the reader to consider two matters before taking the recollections at face value. First, they were written exclusively by white men and women. These members of the pioneer generation conveyed the standard prejudices of the day, especially in relating their ethnocentric feelings about American Indians and other racial minorities. Second, the 23 authors were often living decades beyond the events they described. Thus memory lapses and subjective vantage points sometimes led to inaccuracies and biased information in the recollections. Like all historical records, they must be evaluated against corroborating and contradictory evidence found in other sources. To correct some of these inaccuracies and to refer readers to other valuable materials for comparison, Jensen has assembled 30 pages of valuable explanatory endnotes.

Persons interested in Iowa history, as well as in the pioneer period on the Great Plains, will benefit from reading these reminiscences. More extensive introductions to each of the selections and a range of relevant maps would have enhanced the otherwise worthy package.

Barbed Wire: The Fence that Changed the West, by Joanne S. Liu. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing, 2009. viii, 141 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, chronology, glossary, bibliography, index. \$14.00 paper.

Reviewer Ginette Aley is the Carey Fellow in the History Department at Kansas State University. Her research and writing have focused on nineteenth-century rural and agricultural history, particularly of the American Midwest.

Joanne Liu's *Barbed Wire* tells a simple story about how a mere twist of wire ultimately reorganized the landscape and people of the American West. The major tension is between cattlemen and newcomers, the settler-farmers, along with corresponding and sometimes heated conflicting viewpoints such as beliefs in the law of the open range versus herd laws. Each represented a way of life and livelihood that was threatened by the other, to say little of the combined influence on Plains Indians. Events and innovations, however, would come to favor one side over the other and impose a permanent and far-reaching change that affected not only the West but the Midwest as well.

Focusing on Texas, Liu opens with a look at the rise of the American cattle industry and notes that the end of the Civil War was a catalyst for change. The war had proven that there was money to be made from western beef. But with the attendant need for access to the open range for grazing and the huge cattle drives to markets, cattlemen began having problems with the rising numbers of settler-farmers. Buoyed by the passage of the Homestead Act in 1862 and the market interest in grain production, farmers also shared an interest in moving west.

Perhaps no other American dilemma proves the old adage — necessity is the motherhood of invention — more than the problem of farmers and fencing. The lack of timber the farther west one went, for example, hampered the development of farms, including in Iowa. The Iowa State Agricultural Society's 1860 annual report implored, "What Shall We Do for Fences?" Among those offering solutions was a 60-year-old midwestern farmer, Joseph Glidden from DeKalb, Illinois, whose 1873 patent for wire with attached twisted barbs quickly revolutionized fencing. Four years later the total production of barbed wire in the United States was nearly 13 million pounds. But with it came a range of consequences and opposition such as anti-barbed wire groups, fence-cutting wars, patent violators, supporters of "free wire," illegal fencing (or land-grabbing), particularly of public lands, and, in effect, the end of the open range cattle era. By the 1880s and 1890s, the railroad companies would become one of the largest consumers of barbed wire, as they fenced the lines' rights-of-way. All of this worked to transform the West (and Midwest) in a remarkably short period of time.

Liu's *Barbed Wire* is difficult to review as an academic work. While it incorporates a useful array of images and presents an interesting overview, it does not contain a scholarly apparatus beyond the briefest of bibliographies. It is almost too simplistic to use in a college classroom; on the other hand, one can imagine its use as a handbook, perhaps at a relevant historic site or museum.

Last Stand: George Bird Grinnell, The Battle to Save the Buffalo, and the Birth of the New West, by Michael Punke. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xvi, 304 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$18.95 paper.

Reviewer Gregory J. Dehler is an instructor at Front Range Community College in Westminster, Colorado. His dissertation (Lehigh University, 2002) was "William Temple Hornaday and Wildlife Protection."

Michael Punke opens *Last Stand* with the story of Vic Smith, who killed 4,500 buffalo in 1881, as an example of the scope of exploitation typical in the Old West. Smith was not unique. He was just one of thousands of hunters who killed millions of buffalo in the 1870s and 1880s. By 1885, only 300 buffalo were left from a herd that had once exceeded 30 million. Most of this remnant herd sought refuge inside Yellowstone National Park. Thus, Yellowstone became a battleground between those, like Smith, who saw the buffalo as a resource to be exploited to the point of extermination, and George Bird Grinnell, a well-to-do easterner who wanted to save the buffalo from extinction and preserve the sanctity of the national park. Businessmen and self-interested politicians offered to protect Yellowstone's wildlife only at the cost of privatization and commercial concessions. Grinnell refused this bargain. Instead, he used his personal friendships with influential politicians, the Boone and Crockett Club (which he co-founded with Theodore Roosevelt), and his editorial position at *Forest & Stream* magazine to demand protection for Yellowstone's wildlife and maintenance of its boundaries. Grinnell was, of course, not the only one involved in saving the buffalo and Yellowstone, but his role was critical. He kept the public informed with stories of poachers, corruption, and Congress's failure to act decisively. When Edgar Howell slaughtered five buffalo inside Yellowstone in 1894, one of Grinnell's reporters, Iowan Emerson Hough, was on hand to break the story. Howell's brazen act finally convinced Congress to pass the Park Protection Act, legislation that established punishments for those who shot wildlife in Yellowstone National Park. A new West was born, with Grinnell serving as midwife. Preservation replaced exploitation. In the years after the Park Protection Act, forest reserves would be vastly expanded, additional national parks created, and big-game refuges established.

Punke devotes considerable space to the central character, Grinnell, and the development of his conservation ethic. Punke roots Grinnell's commitment to conservation in two areas. As a paleontologist first drawn to the West in pursuit of science, Grinnell observed that species, even those as vigorous and numerous as the dinosaurs, lived a tenuous existence. In addition to the influence of paleontology, Punke credits an ethic of self-denial that "Grandma" Lucy Audubon instilled in

Grinnell during his youth as a critical component of his conservation philosophy. This put Grinnell at odds with the consumptive ethos of the Gilded Age, which, among other things, led to the slaughter of buffalo by the millions. For Grinnell, self-denial and restraint remained at the heart of the sportsman's ethic.

Punke's sources include government reports, Grinnell's private papers, and numerous editorials and articles from *Forest & Stream* and other magazines. The secondary sources, however, are dated. This is not a major detraction, but *Last Stand* might have benefited from recent works, such as those by Karl Jacoby and Louis Warren just to name two, that offer insights into the mind of the poacher and the significant friction between the goals of the elite eastern sportsmen and the needs of the local economy. This minor weakness, however, does not overshadow the fact that Michael Punke has written an engaging and, at times, exciting story for both a popular and academic audience.

A Colossal Hoax: The Giant from Cardiff that Fooled America, by Scott Tribble. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009. xiv, 311 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$42.95 cloth.

Reviewer Chris Rasmussen is associate professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson University. He is the author of "'Fairs Here Have Become a Sort of Holiday': Agriculture and Amusements at Iowa's County Fairs, 1838-1925" in the *Annals of Iowa* (1999).

In October 1869, while digging a well on Stub Newell's farm near Cardiff, New York, workers uncovered a ten-foot, three-ton human figure carved from gypsum. Dubbed the Cardiff Giant, the figure soon became a nationwide sensation, as Americans debated whether the giant was a petrified human or humanoid fossil, an ancient sculpture, or perhaps an outright fraud.

Over the next five months the giant was revealed as a hoax perpetrated by George Hull, a two-bit con man, serial arsonist, and incorrigible huckster. A get-rich-quick schemer, Hull aimed to reap a windfall by exhibiting or selling the giant. Yet, as Scott Tribble's deeply researched, perceptive history makes clear, Tribble was also motivated by a deep-seated contempt for revealed religion and a desire to discredit the biblical account of creation. Hull shamelessly defrauded the public but considered revealed religion an even grosser fraud.

Hull was clever, but not quite clever enough to cover his tracks, keep his co-conspirators quiet, and pull off his audacious hoax. Tribble's detailed account of Hull's machinations reads like a whodunit, recounting every twist and turn in Hull's scheme. In 1868 Hull had

traveled to a quarry near Fort Dodge, Iowa, to select a suitable block of gypsum. Hull's irascible temperament annoyed local residents, who could hardly fail to recall the strange visitor when the Cardiff Giant became a public sensation the following year. After hauling the enormous block of stone by wagon to Montana (now Boone), Hull shipped it by rail to Chicago, where he enlisted two sculptors to carve the giant and distress its surface in an effort to make the sculpture appear ancient. Hull then shipped the giant to upstate New York, had it buried on Newell's farm, then waited nearly a year to have it "discovered."

The giant became a sensation virtually overnight, attracting throngs of visitors to tiny Cardiff. Hull and his partners immediately sold most of their interest in the giant to a group of investors from nearby Syracuse who laid plans to exhibit the Cardiff Giant across the United States and perhaps even in Europe and Asia. The giant's exhibitors borrowed their promotional techniques from America's most renowned showman, P. T. Barnum, deliberately stoking public controversy over the giant. As their advertisements asked, "What is it?"

Many Americans in 1869 were disposed to believe that "it" was a fossilized, petrified man or possibly a prehistoric forerunner of humanity. Others insisted that the figure was a sculpture — but if so, who sculpted it, and when? Indians? Vikings? Rather than view the giant as a blow against the biblical account of creation, however, Americans interpreted it through the lens of national pride. The giant attested to ancient human settlement in North America, indicating that America's history and culture was as old as Europe's.

Scientists traveled to Cardiff to examine the giant, but their professional judgment carried little weight with the public. As Tribble points out, American science was still rudimentary in 1869, and Americans' disdain for the opinion of experts was already legendary. Archaeology was a particularly new and undeveloped discipline, and American archaeologists were woefully ignorant about pre-Columbian America and lacked modern techniques for analyzing and dating artifacts. While most scientists rejected the possibility that the giant was a petrified human specimen, many did insist that it was of ancient origin. When the giant was revealed to be a fake, scientists' authority was diminished even further; as Tribble succinctly puts it, "scientists had been the clear losers of the affair" (193).

Hull also became a loser, as his fraud unraveled in a matter of weeks. He left behind too many clues about the giant's true origin, and some of his compatriots, who helped quarry, transport, sculpt, and bury the giant, could not keep mum about their role in the fraud. Fort Dodge newspaper publisher and historian Benjamin F. Gue

played a key role in uncovering Hull's deception by compiling evidence about his visit to Iowa. When sculptors Frederick Mohrmann and Henry Salle published their confession in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in February 1870, Hull's fraud was completely unmasked and his already dubious reputation was irreparably tarnished.

A Colossal Hoax recounts in detail the creation of the Cardiff Giant and the ensuing debate that it provoked. The book situates the debate amid the broad political, economic, religious, scientific, and cultural contexts of nineteenth-century America. In Tribble's readable and thoughtful account, George Hull's spectacular, short-lived fraud reveals a great deal about American culture in an era in which frauds of all sorts abounded, and in which Americans dared to question the truthfulness of both revealed religion and modern science.

Harker's Courthouses: Visions of an Iowa Icon, photographs by Michael P. Harker, introduction by Loren N. Horton. Cedar Rapids: WDG Publishing, 2009. x, 83 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.95 paper.

Reviewer Cameron Campbell is associate professor of architecture at Iowa State University. He did the photography for *A Century of Iowa Architecture, 1900–1999* (2004).

Iowa's courthouses epitomize the romantic notion of small, proud towns from a bygone era. They are also a topic of much interest for those who travel the state and discover these rare jewels dotting the Iowa landscape. Michael P. Harker has captured these remarkable treasures in *Harker's Courthouses*. The black-and-white images photographed by Harker accentuate the rich detail of courthouses from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. The book presents whole-building photographs as well as detail vignettes to tell the visual story of these buildings.

Natives of Iowa as well as visitors will appreciate the artful documentation that Harker's photographs provide. He organizes his journey across the state alphabetically by county, showing only those county courthouses that exemplify well-crafted courthouses from this period. The book is neither a critical text nor a historical account save for the brief introduction by Loren N. Horton. The introduction serves to ignite readers' interest in this building type and provides the context in which these buildings were designed. Ultimately, though, this is a picture book that allows readers to share in the awe for splendid Iowa courthouse architecture from 1840 to 1940 — the heyday of well-crafted courthouses.

New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era, by Kathleen Sprows Cummings. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. xvii, 278 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Janet Welsh, OP, is director of the Mary Nona McGreal Center for Dominican Historical Studies at Dominican University, River Forest, Illinois. Her dissertation (University of Notre Dame) was about Catholic and Protestant women in the Upper Mississippi River Valley lead region, 1830–1870.

On March 13, 1887, Henry Francis Bowers gathered six men at his Clinton, Iowa, law office to form the American Protective Association (APA), an anti-Catholic organization that claimed that the Catholic church was an antithesis to democracy. The APA contended that Catholics could never be loyal citizens of the United States because they held greater allegiance to the pope. For many Catholics, experiencing anti-Catholicism deepened their religious identity; it also compelled them to demonstrate good citizenship and commitment to the welfare and values of a democratic republic.

Kathleen Sprows Cummings's *New Women of the Old Faith* is an exquisitely written text that examines the lives and works of four Catholic women who lived amid the realities of a changing America, of an American Catholic church defining itself in a new age, and of the growing women's movement during the Progressive Era. Cummings presents a well-researched account of the lives of Margaret Buchanan Sullivan (1847–1903), a Chicago journalist and prolific writer; Bostonian Katherine Conway (1852–1927), editor, public speaker, and avowed anti-suffragist; Sister Julia McGroaty (1831–1901), Sister of Notre Dame de Namur and founder of Trinity College for Catholic Women, Washington DC; and Philadelphian Sister Assisium McEvoy (1843–1939), Sister of St. Joseph, leader in curriculum development and the consolidation of the parochial school system.

Like the "new woman" of the period, all of these women were well-educated professionals who pioneered innovative pathways for women. Unlike the "new woman," however, they never promoted or participated in the burgeoning women's movement of the era; rather, these "new women of the old faith" possessed a far greater allegiance and loyalty to their Catholic identity than to their gender. It was not the bond of sisterhood that motivated their labor but rather the bond of religion that drove their endeavors.

Cummings skillfully demonstrates that the bonds of religion were complicated. She examines each woman's life according to her own distinctive circumstances. All of the women in some measure navigated patriarchal structures and paternal mentalities as they created

new opportunities for American Catholic women. Cummings cautions her readers not to laden the women with twenty-first-century expectations. She presents them as they were — late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women who accepted the hierarchical structures of their church and found friendship with men who often failed to acknowledge their accomplishments. They also experienced the complexity of gender relationships within their own organizations and religious communities.

New Women of the Old Faith deserves careful study and praise from scholars of American Catholicism, gender studies, and U.S. history. Cummings's work is a tour de force for two reasons. First, she contributes to an already rich and growing scholarship that challenges the assumption that Catholic women, as members of a patriarchal church, were incapable of genuine work on the behalf of women. Second, *New Women of the Old Faith* is a ground-breaking contribution to gender studies. Cummings proves that the power of religious identity, often neglected in gender analysis, is a decisive component in understanding women's gender relationships and life work.

Cummings's text is a pleasure to read; each chapter is a "page turner" that will capture the interest of both armchair and professional historians. *New Women of the Old Faith* entices scholars to pursue further analysis of Catholic women as protagonists in the shaping of American Catholicism and the United States.

Science in the Service of Children, 1893–1935, by Alice Boardman Smuts. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006. xiv, 381 pp. Illustrations, table, notes, index. \$32.00 paper.

Reviewer Hamilton Cravens is professor of history at Iowa State University. He is the author of *Before Head Start: The Iowa Station & America's Children* (1993).

Alice Boardman Smuts has written an excellent book on a very important subject: the complex history of the launching of the sciences of the child in America. Readers of the *Annals of Iowa* should know that our state played a formative role in this story through the establishment of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station at the University of Iowa in 1917, the first such scientific research institution in the world. The Iowa Station was, quite literally, the pioneer, the trailblazer, in the field, and Smuts provides an able summary of that history. Readers will find this book engagingly written and absorbing in its content.

What Smuts does, and does well, is to identify and describe the myriad persons, institutions, and movements that came together to create this fascinating interdisciplinary science — child development

— and its applied social technology, parent education. In her words, there were three movements and one goal: the creation of a science of the child. The first of these movements consisted of several components, including, between 1893 and 1910, the emergence of social feminism and social research; psychologist G. Stanley Hall and his erratic leadership of the child study movement; the precipitation of various groups interested in scientific childrearing, organizing mothers, and parent education; and the contributions of social workers and reform-minded scientists. Having traversed this material myself, I congratulate Smuts on writing this part of the history clearly and succinctly — based on assiduous research.

In the book's second part, covering the years 1910–1921, Smuts turns to the founding institutions of child development: the Children's Bureau, under Julia Lathrop's fine leadership; the child guidance movement, which grew out of the uses of psychiatry to "solve" juvenile delinquency; and the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. Here again Smuts does a fine job of summarizing complex and seemingly inchoate developments and fitting them into a clear mosaic of description of key patterns.

In the book's last part, comprising six chapters and about half the text, we learn how the child sciences were developed, especially institutionally, with the role of private philanthropy, especially the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in child development, and the Commonwealth Fund, which supported the child guidance movement, all between the 1920s and the 1940s. A brief epilogue carries the story down to present times.

Whether to devote as much research and space to the more recent period was something I struggled with in my book on the Iowa Station; I agree with Smuts that the post-World War II history of the field is truly another story worth a separate book. I am also glad that Smuts has written the book she has, with the kind of general coverage she has provided. I had thought that I might write such a work after I finished my book, but life has a way of upending one's plans. We can all be grateful that Smuts has persevered and written this book, which was quite a challenge, given the convoluted history she manages to describe so engagingly.

Two authors can go over the same or closely related materials and decide that they have their own purposes, which can differ, sometimes dramatically. Smuts clearly identifies with and admires the people in her story. She accepts the basic premises under which they functioned and approves of their goals, by and large. She is more interested in describing how the nation "got" its child development science and its

institutions than in probing its intellectual history, investigating the inevitable conflicts and tensions in depth, or setting it into a larger context of science and social attitudes, not to mention academic, philanthropic, or governmental issues, conflicts, and the like. Thus her interesting chapter on Arnold Gesell misses the methodological criticism of Gesell's successor, Milton J. E. Senn, that Gesell used the same few individual children to set his norms, for he had no understanding of what a random sample was. This is not to be critical of Smuts; she has written a fine, useful book that needs no defense. It is just that she has made some choices about what to include and what not to include. That is fair enough.

The William Howard Taft Presidency, by Lewis L. Gould. American Presidency Series. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009. xv, 269 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$34.95 cloth.

Reviewer Karen A. J. Miller is associate professor of history at Oakland University. She is the author of *Populist Nationalism: Republican Insurgency and American Foreign Policy Making, 1918–1925* (1999).

In an effort to “refresh” volumes in its American presidency series, the University Press of Kansas is replacing some of its earliest studies with new ones that reflect contemporary directions in scholarship. As one of the foremost scholars of politics at the beginning of the twentieth century, Lewis Gould is well positioned to write this concise yet authoritative account of William Howard Taft's presidency.

Gould has set out to explain why Taft was a lesser light of the Progressive Era. Abandoning the dismissive language that pervades some of the older scholarship, Gould does not blame Taft's failings on a lethargic sensibility, the absence of a brilliant intellect, or a lack of interest in the presidency. Instead, he views Taft as a politician who did a creditable job but failed to negotiate the political turmoil of his time.

In 1908 William Howard Taft's political career seemed blessed. A confidant of Theodore Roosevelt, he had secured the president's support for the Republican presidential nomination. Roosevelt's efforts on behalf of Taft were an extraordinary asset to his campaign. From the moment of his election, however, Taft's charmed political life began to slip away.

Taft inherited a party that was torn by dissension. Congressional progressives from the Midwest were already challenging conservative party leadership. The first legislative battle facing Taft was tariff reform. Gould regards the Payne-Aldrich Tariff debates as “a self-inflicted wound that shaped the rest of the presidency” (51). His description

of the Payne-Aldrich debates points to glaring failures to placate the sensibilities of progressives in rebellion. During the course of the tariff debates, Taft consistently defended the prerogatives of Speaker of the House Joe Cannon and Senate Majority Leader Nelson Aldrich; he endorsed a corporation tax rather than siding with the progressive call for an income tax. Taft even failed to use the tool of political patronage to regain the loyalty of maverick western progressives. By the end of the process, Taft had alienated insurgent Republican congressmen and angered the progressive press.

This began a spiral downward, as Taft continued to enrage progressive politicians in his decision to support Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger in his efforts to tighten procedural rules over land use. Further controversies arose over presidential appointments. By 1910, as the party prepared for the congressional elections, relations between insurgent Republicans and the president had deteriorated completely. Taft went so far as to work with conservatives in Iowa to attempt to unseat the popular senators Jonathan Dolliver and Albert Cummins.

As Gould points out, however, the real problem for the administration was the breakdown of relations between Taft and former president Roosevelt. Ideological differences between the two quickly emerged, as Taft's commitment to process, his desire to balance the budget, and his willingness to ally himself with powerful conservatives began to alter public policy established by Roosevelt. Taft's poor choices in political advisers combined with his tendency to make rash decisions heightened tensions with his former mentor.

The inability of Roosevelt and Taft to reconcile their differences led to the party split in 1912. Both men were too proud to concede to the other. Their ideological differences were real. The result was that neither would be returned to the White House.

Gould acknowledges several important transformations initiated during the Taft presidency. Taft made the federal bureaucracy more efficient, particularly in the area of budgeting. His court appointments shifted the judiciary to the right, a change that would still have force in the 1930s. In the end, Gould argues, Taft's presidency was marked by "a pervasive sense of lost opportunity" (214).

Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture, edited by Pearl James. Studies in War, Society, and the Military. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xi, 398 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 paper.

Reviewer Barbara Steinson is professor of history at DePauw University. She is the author of *American Women's Activism in World War I* (1982).

The essays collected in *Picture This* challenge readers to consider the context in which World War I posters were produced and viewed. A well-established advertising tool prior to the war, posters became the most prevalent propaganda tool used by governments to build home-front support. Editor Pearl James contends in her introduction that the posters "functioned as illustrations of the war in popular understanding but also had an impact on the facts of the war, including its duration and its reach" (3). Raising different questions and examining diverse forms of evidence from several belligerent nations, not all of the authors share James's conclusion about the power of the posters, but they all provide nuanced understandings of the posters' historical, social, and cultural contexts. Readers' comprehension of World War I posters will be enriched well beyond their most thorough visual observations.

The essay collection includes an introductory section followed by three other sections: "War Poster Campaigns and Images, Comparative Readings," "Envisioning the Nation and Imagining National Aesthetics," and "Figuring the Body in the Context of War." Jay Winter launches the collection by asserting that posters were part of a vibrant popular culture and national discourse and "reflected an already existing and powerful consensus: they illustrated but did not manufacture consent" (42). The posters transcended class differences in ways that written propaganda did not and functioned as "signs of solidarity, not carriers of compulsion" (43). Meg Albrinck's study of British recruitment posters, on the other hand, demonstrates that the enlistment campaign prior to conscription in 1916 shifted from an emphasis on national honor to one of gendered humiliation designed to coerce men into volunteering by calling their masculinity into question. While these messages "reflect national ideals but not necessarily actual behavior" (335), she leaves readers with the question of whether the posters, while failing to increase enlistments, had an impact on popular understandings of masculinity and self-identity.

In a cross-national essay, Nicoletta Gullace compares the use of Hun imagery in Great Britain, Australia, and the United States to symbolize the threat to civilization posed by German barbarism. Images of the Hun in Britain "tended to be tamer" than in the United States and Australia, where posters depicted the Hun as an Darwinesque gorilla-like figure and an inhuman blood-lusting ogre because their populations had to be aroused to fight in the absence of an "immediate threat" (72-73). Such depictions appealed directly to fears of "racial contamination" (73), but the anti-Hun campaign failed to resonate with Allies beyond the West.

Race also surfaces as a prominent theme in essays examining specific national campaigns. Richard S. Fogarty analyzes French posters that simultaneously praised contributions to the war efforts by non-white colonial soldiers while denigrating them as primitive "other." The posters reinforced racial prejudices and stereotypes and revealed that the French debt to colonial soldiers had limits. Jennifer D. Keene's comparison of posters made by African Americans with those produced for them by the government reveals a dialog between the government and the African American community on the meanings of service. Both government and privately produced posters emphasized a romanticized image of war in which each soldier made a difference, but Keene notes that the African American posters explicitly linked the struggle against Germany with the need for an interracial democracy at home.

Finally, editor Pearl James asserts that the multiple and often contradictory representations of women in U.S. posters "functioned as instruments of the changes affecting that status" (275). Critical of earlier scholarship that takes a less sanguine view, James is more convincing in arguing that posters offered ways of imagining changing women's roles than actually changing behavior. She offers an example of women's agency that promoted food conservation in Iowa by distributing posters and giving talks to local groups.

I have noted the contributions of essays that address race and gender, but the breadth of essay topics includes Russian folk art, French schoolgirls' poster art, depictions of the wounded, and the use of medieval iconography. Readers will be left to ponder the extent to which posters reflected popular views and understanding of the war, or the degree to which they influenced beliefs and lived experiences of people in a time of total war. It is just as important for readers to consider the ways poster art influenced the construction of memories of the war that remain salient in the twenty-first century.

African Americans on the Great Plains: An Anthology, edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Charles A. Braithwaite. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. vii, 404 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paper.

Reviewer Michael J. Lansing is assistant professor of history and director of environmental studies at Augsburg College. His research and writing have focused on issues of race and gender in the history of the western United States.

This collection of essays, all of which first appeared in the *Great Plains Quarterly*, brings together a wide range of subjects related to African American life on the Great Plains. The editors define the Great Plains

broadly, including Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Arkansas as well as the Canadian prairie provinces. Topics as varied as settlement, military service, race relations, civil rights organizing, migrations, clubs and societies, literature, arts, and music all find a home in this anthology.

The dearth of histories devoted to African American experiences in the region makes this book significant. Essays that move beyond stereotypical examinations of buffalo soldiers or black churches ensure that readers encounter less familiar stories. Even those chapters that focus on black experiences in the army or African American religion offer new and deeper insights. Especially useful pieces include Shawn Leigh Alexander's essay on the emergence of branches of the Afro American Council in Kansas during the 1890s; the transnational approach offered by R. Bruce Shepard in his research on black migrations to Canada in the early 1900s; Richard M. Breaux's examination of artistic movements among black university students in the Midwest from the 1910s to 1940; an essay by Tom Jack that analyzes exactly how gospel music spread through African American churches in Omaha during the 1930s; Jean Van Delinder's piece on black activism in Topeka before the famous 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case; and Ronald Walters's work on the sit-in movements across Kansas and Oklahoma that predated the more famous student sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960.

Despite the editors' efforts to expand their definition of the Great Plains, only brief mentions of Iowa appear. In his fascinating essay on black university students, Breaux puts the achievements of numerous University of Iowa alumni, including Lulu Merle Johnson, Elmer E. Collins, and Margaret Walker, into a broader context of African American cultural and artistic foment between World War I and World War II. Meanwhile, Walters rightly concludes that northern newspaper editors — including the *Des Moines Register's* Lauren Soth — too often gave over their front pages to news of civil rights struggles in the South while burying local civil rights struggles in their back pages. More typically, in his essay on black soldiers at Nebraska's Fort Niobrara, Thomas R. Buecker only hints that several companies of the 25th Infantry Regiment found their way to Fort Des Moines in 1903. Michael Johnson's essay on Era Bell Thompson's *American Daughter* (1946) simply notes that she completed her college degree at Morningside in Sioux City.

Nonetheless, the numerous parallels between the experiences of African Americans in states such as Nebraska and Kansas and those in Iowa in the years after the Civil War make this anthology useful. For instance, the significance of local chapters of national civil rights orga-

nizations in black urban enclaves across the area cannot be denied — as Bruce Fehn and Robert Jefferson’s recent article on the Black Panther Party in Des Moines in the Winter 2010 issue of this journal suggests. Furthermore, Joseph V. Hickey’s attempt to understand the creation of rural black communities such as Pap Singleton’s Dunlap Colony in Kansas offers insights into similar migrations that brought African Americans from the South to the coal mines of Muchakinock and Buxton just a few years later.

Unfortunately, none of the essays considers black history on the Great Plains before the Civil War. More important, few of the pieces carefully consider the experiences of black women. Finally, the lack of maps, graphs, or illustrations is frustrating. For instance, photographs of the art produced by Aaron Douglas would greatly enrich Audrey Thompson’s essay on that leading visual artist of the Harlem Renaissance. Despite these flaws, this collection belongs on the shelf of every reader with an interest in African American history or the history of the Great Plains and Midwest.

ACT: The First Fifty Years, 1959–2009. Iowa City: ACT, Inc., 2009. ix, 161 pp. Illustrations, appendix, notes.

Reviewer John Rury is professor of education and (by courtesy) history at the University of Kansas. His research and writing have focused on issues in higher and secondary education.

This book is a “house history” of one of the nation’s premier educational testing and assessment organizations, and displays many of the virtues of such exercises along with a few of the pitfalls. Although written in an authoritative voice and with command of relevant documentary evidence, no author is named. Instead, the book appears to represent an official, institutionally sanctioned account of ACT’s first half-century, documenting its many successes and the various challenges it faced. Composed in the style of a research monograph, complete with footnotes, it strikes a scholarly pose in a glossy, coffee-table format. The resulting narrative is rather dense at times, filled with details about programs and initiatives over the years, but it does provide an informative look inside this widely known Iowa institution.

There can be little doubt that ACT is important to the American educational system, and it has extended its reputation and influence dramatically across five decades. Started by University of Iowa psychometrician E. F. Lindquist in 1959, it expanded upon a tradition of examining the state’s high school students in various subjects. Feeling constrained in one state, Lindquist and his various collaborators built

a regional network of institutions willing to use tests developed by his fledgling organization, the American College Testing Program. Focusing on the Midwest at first, this new enterprise — known widely by its acronym — received critical assistance from Chicago-based Science Research Associates, along with a cadre of state coordinators to develop contacts with institutions and school systems.

The timing was impeccable. With skyrocketing college enrollments in the wake of “baby boom” cohorts of youth and rising secondary graduation rates, demand for testing grew quickly. As colleges struggled with a mounting flood of applications, the services provided by ACT proved increasingly indispensable, and the organization began to expand dramatically. In 1968 ACT moved from cramped facilities in downtown Iowa City to a modern new campus on the city’s outskirts. The number of staff members grew correspondingly, eventually bringing hundreds of highly talented people to Iowa City. And new initiatives were launched to help with financial aid applications and college planning. In less than a decade, ACT had become a major presence in the critical process of preparing for college admission. Its growth continued more or less apace in the years to follow.

ACT’s first decade is covered in the book’s opening chapter. Subsequent chapters each deal with a succeeding decade in chronological order. Each is assigned a somewhat distinctive theme, but the basic logic of the book involves describing the initiatives, people, and external events that shaped the organization’s growth over time. While providing tests to help students decide where to apply and colleges decide whom to accept, along with processing financial aid materials, ACT eventually moved into workforce assessment and career planning services as well, along with limited forays into basic and applied educational research. Each step in this process is described in considerable detail, at times testing the patience of even the most forbearing of readers. Chapters feature sections on administrative and organizational developments, recounting the contributions of such key figures as Ralph Tyler, Oluf Davidson, and Richard Ferguson. An assortment of additional organizational developments is described as well, contributing to a mass of information made all the more challenging by the absence of a comprehensive index to the book.

Attention to the internal dynamics of ACT is not balanced by consideration of context and controversy. The authors attempt to keep abreast of major developments in American education and the larger social and political context with relatively brief accounts of such pertinent events as rising high school graduation rates, college enrollment trends, the conservative revolution represented by Ronald Reagan’s

election, "A Nation at Risk," and the so-called standards movement. But the bulk of the narrative is inward looking. Certain critical themes, such as controversies connected to race, ethnicity, and testing, receive very brief treatment, and significant historical accounts such as Nicholas Lemann's *The Big Test* are not even mentioned. This detracts from the volume's value as a balanced contribution to the history of testing and assessment. What it does represent is an informative description of the growth of a highly successful Iowa institution, one that is likely to remain important as long as post-secondary education continues to play a major role in American life.

Women Elders' Life Stories of the Omaha Tribe, Macy, Nebraska, 2004–2005, by Wynne L. Summers. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xxxii, 112 pp. Omaha language pronunciation guide, map, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth.

Reviewer Patty Loew is associate professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. She has collected oral histories of Native American and African American women in Wisconsin during World War II and is the author of *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal* (2001).

You might call it cultural gravity — that irresistible force that pulls Native people back to their ancestral land. Re-entry brings redemption. Personal renewal promotes community revitalization.

Wynne Summers has written a lovely book, the beauty of which lies in its poetic expression. The book celebrates the lives of three Omaha elders working to protect the community through political leadership and language preservation. Eleanor Baxter was the first woman to lead the Omaha Nation as tribal chair. Alice Saunsoci and Håwate are language teachers who see Omaha culture embedded in the language. All three women were raised on the Omaha reservation, left for a period of years, and then experienced redemptive homecomings. The gravity that pulls these Omaha women back to their homeland connects them to their community and to the land itself. Each learned valuable leadership skills while orbiting the mainstream. Upon their return, their political activism and cultural spirit rarified Macy's atmosphere.

Only Summers's conclusion disappoints. The author chose this chapter to introduce a lengthy and misplaced examination of Leslie Silko's *Garden in the Dunes* and several other literary works, which distracts readers from reflecting on the three compelling life stories she has just shared. Her effort to situate the lives of Baxter, Saunsoci, and Håwate within a wider literary context is thought provoking and

meaningful but would have been more valuable if presented elsewhere in the book. This miscalculation does not detract from the overall integrity of *Women Elders*, however. The book is an honest, elegant contribution to American Indian scholarship. Note to researchers: be sure to read the preface. Summers's respectful approach to gathering data in a tribal community is commendable. *This* is the way to conduct research in Indian Country.

Great Plains: America's Lingering Wild, by Michael Forsberg with Dan O'Brien, David Wishart, and Ted Kooser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 260 pp. Photographs (many in color), maps, bibliography, list of resources, index. \$45.00 cloth.

Reviewer Molly P. Rozum is associate professor of history at Doane College in Crete, Nebraska. Her dissertation (University of North Carolina, 2001) was "Grasslands Grown: A Twentieth-Century Sense of Place on North America's Northern Prairies and Plains."

Hope edges pessimism in this compelling study of North America's grasslands ecology. Part photographic narrative, part history, with interludes of personal essay, mapping, and fieldwork journaling, this book is as "mixed and complicated" as "the people of the Plains" (253). Forsberg's absorbing photographs form the core in chapters on "The Northern Plains," "The Southern Plains," and "Tallgrass Prairies," the last of which includes significant discussion of Iowa's historic grasslands. Images of buffalo grass, a "ghost" playa lake, snow geese taking flight, a snow squall, redbelly daces swimming, and black-tailed prairie dogs greeting one another reveal the "lingering wild" of the Plains and the authors' reasoned concern for "ignoble destruction" (19). Kooser introduces, and historical geographer Wishart provides a general overview, citing important regional scholarship. Novelist O'Brien's personal essays — "Water," "Wind," "Lion," and "Cemetery" — demonstrate his and Forsberg's different understandings of the environment, yet similar deeply rooted feelings for the place.

The authors advocate a "new Great Plains land ethic," one "scientific and practical" (254), notably already at work upon the region, as represented by the U.S. Conservation Reserve Program, the Nature Conservancy, Ducks Unlimited, pheasant hunters, ranchers, and philanthropists. Extinction and depletion continue by irrigation, methane gas production, wind "farms," and corn-based ethanol development. Hope resides nevertheless in individuals with diverse motivations to preserve, restore, and reconnect what at times seems a hopelessly fragmented place. For Iowa restoration is key.

Unique in interdisciplinary presentation, scholarly and accessible, the winner of two prizes — a gold medal from the Independent Publisher Book Awards for the Best Mid-West Regional Non-fiction Book and the Distinguished Book Prize from the Center for Great Plains Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln — *Great Plains* poses questions “emblematic of the world at large” (18).

Voices from the Back Stairs: Interpreting Servants' Lives at Historic House Museums, by Jennifer Pustz. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010. x, 244 pp. Illustrations, notes, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$27.00 paper.

Reviewer Barbara J. Howe is the former director of the Center for Women's Studies at West Virginia University. She is the author of “The Historic Role of Women in the Nineteenth-Century Historic Preservation Movement,” in *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (2003).

Who were the servants? What did they do? Where did they live? How did they interact with their employers? These are questions that historic sites, especially historic house museums, across the country should address to provide the most complete interpretation of the lives of all who lived and worked on the premises, but it is easy to make these people invisible because the sites may think they lack relevant artifacts and sources. Jennifer Pustz has drawn on her experiences working at Brucemore in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Historic New England (formerly the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities) to address these questions and to suggest examples and resources for others to use. To add broader context to her own experiences as an employee and visitor at sites, she sent out a survey to 691 historic house museums other than “pioneer homesteads and log cabins,” which would not have had domestic servants, in all but two states and the District of Columbia to ask how they interpreted domestic service. The survey is included as Appendix I. She had a response rate of 53.5 percent (358 surveys) and incorporates some of the examples from the survey in the narrative, including sites in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

Pustz states that her goal is “to help historic house museum staff reach the objective of telling the whole history of their sites through interpretation of domestic servants in a rich and complex fashion that favors the ‘real’ over the ‘ideal’” (12). The first chapter includes some interpretation of the domestic work of enslaved people at sites such as Montpelier and Monticello, but the focus of the book is on the period from 1870 to 1920. Chapter two provides an overview of the results of

Pustz's survey, with comments on interpreting topics such as the race and ethnicity of the servants, their living and working conditions, and "the social stigma of domestic service" (59). Chapter three, "The Ideal, the Real, and the Servant Problem," draws on a variety of contemporary sources, such as women's magazines, household manuals, photographs, and census data, as well as interviews with family members of the home's owners or of the servants, to show how house museums might contextualize the lives of the servants who worked at their sites. Chapter four then shows how museums might use these sources to interpret domestic life through tours of kitchens and servants' bedrooms, for instance, which are often off limits to visitors because they are used as offices or storage space. Here, the author uses Bruce more as a prominent example. The final chapter provides case studies in interpreting domestic service, including the midwestern sites of Bruce more; Villa Louis in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin; and the James J. Hill site in St. Paul, Minnesota. There are also two photo essays — "The Servant Problem Illustrated" and "Contemporary Interpretations of Domestic Service" — and an appendix of additional resources.

Pustz's strongest contribution comes in the last three chapters, where she provides specific resources that might not be familiar to all historic house museum staff and gives specific examples of imaginative ways to talk about servants' lives, including "servants' tours" that use the back stairs so often closed off to visitors. It is easy, for instance, to talk about cleaning methods or meal preparation, but Pustz offers suggestions for talking about the interactions between servants and employers, which are more difficult to unravel. The example of Maymont, in Richmond, Virginia, stands out here because the staff worked closely with the surrounding community to develop an interpretive program focusing on African American servants in the early twentieth century and now "forces" visitors to acknowledge that history because they enter the building through a modified version of the servants' entrance. It is a relief to come to these three chapters after chapter two, as it is hard to make survey results read in an exciting way, and Pustz gives very few specific examples amidst the wealth of data. Finally, it is hard to understand why the publisher used photo essays instead of interspersing the illustrations with the text. Or, at least, it would have been good if readers knew that the illustrations were forthcoming on particular pages so that they could skip ahead to find them when reading the text. Historic house museums often face financial and personnel constraints, but Pustz offers enough ideas that even the most under-resourced site should find something to incorporate into its current interpretation with little extra effort.

New on the Shelves

"New on the Shelves" is a list of recent additions to the collections of the State Historical Society of Iowa. It includes manuscripts, audio-visual materials, and published materials recently acquired or newly processed that we think might be of interest to the readers of the *Annals of Iowa*. The "DM" or "IC" at the end of each entry denotes whether the item is held in Des Moines or Iowa City.

Manuscripts

Cary, James. 5 black-and-white photographs, 1940s–1981. Photos showing James Cary at work in the newsroom of the Des Moines Tribune. DM.

Des Moines, Iowa. Plats, 1913. Volume of hand-drawn plats of the business district of Des Moines, prepared from Polk County land records and showing property owners. DM.

DeTar, Josiah. Papers, 1861–1864. 38 Civil War letters of Josiah DeTar of Albia, who served with Company E of the 6th Iowa Infantry, and a transcription of that correspondence. DM.

Stiles Family (Thomas and Cassius). Papers and photographs, ca. 1875–ca. 1930. Materials related to the Thomas W. Stiles family (Madison and Polk County), most notably his son Cassius Stiles, who became the first administrator of the State Archives of Iowa (1906). Includes family photographs, and Cassius Stiles's recollections of a trip in 1921 to Washington, D.C., where he met with officials of the National Archives and Smithsonian Museums. DM.

Younkers, Inc. Scrapbook, 1946. Scrapbook commemorating the opening of the Younkers Store for Homes (Des Moines). Includes congratulatory letters and telegrams, news clippings, ephemera, and photographs. DM.

Published Materials

Note: Once per year, in the Fall issue, we list separately in this section all of the books processed since the last such listing about specific locales (towns or counties), schools, and churches, listed alphabetically by town or school name. Full publication data will be included for local and school histories; only the names of churches and the years covered will be included for church histories.

Local Histories

Castana. *Castana*, by David Wilk. Ventura, CA: Wilk Entertainment Group, 2009. 109 pp. + 16 pp. of plates. DM, IC.

Cedar County. *Atlas of Cedar County, Iowa: Containing Maps, Plats of the Townships, Rural Directory, Pictures of Farms and Families, Articles about History, etc.* Minneapolis: Title Atlas Co., 1977. IC.

Cedar Rapids. *Color of the River: A Journal of an American City, Cedar Rapids, Iowa*, by Steven D. Childs. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2005. xii, 165 pp. *A memoir of growing up in Cedar Rapids in the late 1950s and early 1960s.* DM, IC.

Cedar Rapids. *Then & Now: Cedar Rapids: Downtown and Beyond*, by George T. Henry and Mark W. Hunter. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2003. 96 pp. DM, IC.

Columbus Junction. *Visit Historic Columbus Junction: The Land Where Two Rivers Meet.* N.p., n.d. Pamphlet. IC.

Council Bluffs. *Council Bluffs: 365 days, 150 years*, compiled by Kristine Gerber with Ryan Roenfeld from the archives of *The Daily Nonpareil*. Council Bluffs: Nonpareil Pub., 2007. iv, 240 pp. DM, IC.

Dakota City. *Dakota City's History*, by Pat Baker. [N.p., 2007?]. ca. 50 pp. IC.

Davenport. *Davenport*, by Doug Smith. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2007. 127 pp. DM, IC.

Des Moines. *A History of the Des Moines Founders Garden Club, the Garden Club of America, Des Moines, Iowa, Zone XI: Highlights of Our History 1919–2008.* [Des Moines]; Des Moines Founders Garden Club, Garden Club of America, 2008. 96 pp. DM, IC.

Dubuque. *Dubuque Yesterday and Today*, edited by Linda Mathewson. Dubuque: Telegraph Herald, 2008. iv, 156 pp. DM, IC.

Estherville. *The City of Estherville: Items of Interest.* [Estherville: F. P. Woods], 1904. 18 pp. IC.

Fayette County. *Historic Bridges of Fayette County.* [Marion, 2007]. Brochure (8 pp.). DM, IC.

Fort Dodge. *Fort Dodge 1850 to 1970*, by Roger B. Natte. Images of America Series. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2008. 127 pp. DM, IC.

Hardin County. *Hello from Hardin County, Iowa: Pictures & Postcards from the Past.* Iowa Falls: Times-Citizen Communications, 2008. 118 pp. DM, IC.

Halbur. *Halbur, 1883–2008: The Past, Present and Future Are Ours.* Rich Hill, MO: Bell Books, [2008?]. 184 pp. DM, IC.

Kinross. *One Hundred Years in Kinross*, by Steve Miller and Scott Romine. [Kinross, 1979.] 140 pp. DM, IC.

Madison County. *A Monumental Place: The Historic Civil War Soldiers' Monument, Four Cannons and Monumental Park of Madison County, Iowa*, by Walt Libby. Iowa City: Camp Bookshop, 2008. 347 pp. DM, IC.

Manly. *The Manly Chief: Containing Illustrated Sketch of Manly, Iowa, New Rock Island Terminal and Star of Northern Iowa.* 1915. Reprint. [Northwood: Worth County Historical Society, n.d.]. 66 pp. DM, IC.

Northwood. *Explore Historic Northwood: A Walking Guide to the Northwood Central Avenue Historic District*, produced by the Northwood Historic Preservation Commission. Northwood: Worth County Historical Society, 2008. 15 pp. DM, IC.

_____. *Northwood Then & Now: An Illustrated Journey of Past and Present*. Northwood: Worth County Historical Society, 2008. 28 pp. DM, IC.

Oxford. *The Oxford Project*, photographs by Peter Feldstein, text by Stephen G. Bloom. New York: Welcome Books, 2008. 287 pp. DM, IC.

Sioux City. *Breaking the Mold: Sioux City's Terra Cotta*. [Sioux City: Sioux City Historic Preservation, 2008.] 33 pp. DM, IC.

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Washington. *Washington, Iowa Community Profile*. Washington: Washington Chamber of Commerce, 2008. 48 pp. IC.

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